Sociolinguistic Factors Affecting Patterns of Emotional Language Use among Multilingual Speakers in the Western Cape

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Declaration

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to identify factors that affect the language choices and patterns of language use of multilingual speakers in the Western Cape, focusing particularly on emotional language.

It is an exploratory study, taking a purely quantitative methodological approach. Data was collected by means of a web-based Multilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire available online for six months. The questionnaire was based on Dewaele and Pavlenko's Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (see Pavlenko, 2005) and included multiple choice and Likert scale questions regarding participants' language use preferences, as well as their perceptions of each of their languages. Data analysis was split into two stages: firstly the response data was illustrated by means of frequency tables, and secondly the statistical method of Correspondence Analysis was used to show the patterns of variation among the factors investigated.

Two hypotheses were proposed, based on previous research: firstly, that the sociolinguistic factors would play a bigger role than the socio-demographic factors in determining language choices and patterns of use, and secondly that there may be differences in patterns of use for speakers of African languages versus speakers of Western languages. The analysis confirmed both hypotheses, while also showing some deviation from the results of previous research, which is attributed to the context in which this study was conducted.

The main findings of this study were that English was generally the preferred language even when not the L1, and also that Xhosa tended to follow an entirely different pattern of use in comparison with most other languages in the sample. These findings are attributed to the unique language contact situation in the Western Cape, showing that the widely accepted L1-primacy ideology does not quite hold true across all contexts. An English-bias in the implementation of the language and education policy is also identified as a possible contributing factor to the patterns of language use and language attitudes revealed in this study, hence it is suggested that methodological and practical changes to the language and education policy could lead to a realization of the true multilingual and multicultural potential of South Africa.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie handel oor die identifisering van faktore wat die taalgebruikspatrone en keuses van veeltaliges in die Wes-Kaap affekteer. Die fokus is hoofsaaklik op emosionele taalgebruik.

Die studie is verkennend, en volg ‘n suiwer kwantitatiewe benadering. Data is ingesamel deur die gebruik van ‘n web-gebaseerde Veeltaligheid en Emosies Vraelys wat ongeveer ses maande op die internet beskikbaar was. Die vraelys is gebaseer op dié van Dewaele en Pavlenko (verwys na Pavlenko, 2005) en sluit in veelvoudigekeuse- en Likertskaal-vrae oor die deelnemers se taalgebruik keuses asook hul taal-persepsies. Data-analise is in twee verskillende fases voltooi: eerstens is die data deur die gebruik van frekwensie tabelle geïllustreer, en tweedens is die patrone van variasie onder die faktore getoon deur die gebruik van die statistiese metode van Korrespondensie Ontleding.

Twee hipoteses is voorgestel, gebaseer op vorige navorsing; eerstens, dat sosiolinguistiese faktore ‘n groter rol as sosio-demografiese faktore sou speel in die bepaling van taal-keuses en gebruikpatrone; en tweedens dat daar dalk verskille sou wees tussen Afrika-taal sprekers en Westerse-taal sprekers in verband met patrone van taalgebruik. Beide van die hipoteses is deur die analise bevestig, terwyl daar ook afwyking was van die bevindings van vorige navorsing, waarvoor die konteks waarin hierdie studie plaasvind as rede voorgestel is.

Die studie se hoofbevindings dui daarop dat Engels oor die algemeen die voorgekeurde taal is, selfs wanneer dit nie die eerstetaal is nie, en ook dat Xhosa ‘n gebruikspatroon volg wat van die ander tale in die studie verskil. Hierdie bevindings word toegeskryf aan die uniekheid van die taal-kontak situasie in die Wes-Kaap, en dui daarop dat die algemeen aanvaarde ideologie van die eerste-taal-voorrang nie noodwendig van toepassing is op alle kontekste nie. ‘n Vooroordeel ten gunste van Engels in die implementering van die taal- en onderwysbeleid word ook uitgewys as ‘n moontlike bydraende faktor tot die patrone van taalgebruik en taalhoudings wat in hierdie studie ontdek is. Daar word gevolglik voorgestel dat metodologiese- en praktiese- veranderinge aan die taal- en onderwysbeleid groot bydrae sal kan lewer tot die vervulling van Suid-Afrika se volle veeltalige en multikulturele potensiaal.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Rationale

The Western Cape, and indeed South Africa as a whole, is home to a largely multilingual population. However, what sets it apart from places such as Europe or the United States where there are also many multilingual communities, is that African multilingualism is more fluid than the multilingualism in other areas. There are not so many fixed boundaries between language groups, and many people freely switch between two or more languages in their everyday interactions. Myers-Scotton (1993) in fact noted that "speaking more than one language in one conversation in one day is the rule rather than the exception in Africa"; the same cannot be so confidently stated in a European or American context. On the topic of African multilingualism in contrast to Western multilingualism, Banda (2009: 5) makes the pertinent point that African multilingualism has thus far been approached as a case of "multiple monolingualisms" which is based on a Western bias. Banda (2009: 9) further lists several ways in which African multilingualism differs from Western multilingualism, most notably arguing that multiculturalism and multilingualism are the norm in Africa.

The body of literature on multilingualism is rather extensive and covers many different contexts and theories of language use; the emotional aspect of language, however, has only recently started receiving more attention, and researchers such as Dewaele and Pavlenko, amongst others, have written seminal papers on the topic. The body of research in this field is quite extensive, and has led to the foregrounding of important links between emotions and language choices, thus providing a suitable framework from which to approach the research question of the present study. One of Dewaele's studies (2004a) focused on various different factors that were thought to play a role in language choice for swearing, and results suggest that

it is most often the dominant language (L1) that is chosen for offensive speech acts such as swearing due to the "perceived emotional force of swear words in that language" (Dewaele 2004a: 83). It was found that factors such as mixed instruction, early onset of learning the language, and frequent use of that language all play a role in language choice for such situations (Dewaele 2004a: 83). Aneta Pavlenko has also made a significant contribution to the field of language and emotion, focusing mainly on how emotions are experienced and interpreted in bi- and multilingual contexts (cf. e.g. Pavlenko 2006a; 2006b; 2005). The concepts and theories put forward in Pavlenko's abovementioned research account for why and how different emotions are experienced and interpreted in different languages, and thus form a pivotal part of the research conducted in the present study.

The present study is exploratory in nature, and is grounded in the framework of multilingualism and emotion research. It fills a gap in South African sociolinguistic research, as such a study has not yet been done in the South African context. The study also builds on the existing body of multilingualism and emotion research, as it is situated in a more purely multilingual context than that of previous studies (cf. e.g. Dewaele 2004a; Pavlenko 2005; Pavlenko 2006a) and takes a more sociolinguistic approach as opposed to the psycholinguistic approaches taken by much previous research (cf. e.g. Besemeres 2004; 2011; Wierzbicka 2004; Harris, Gleason & Aycicegi 2006) conducted in the field of language and emotion.

Another important and novel aspect of this study is that it not only deals with factors affecting patterns of emotional language use in general, but also investigates whether or not there are differences to be found in the factors affecting patterns of language choice among speakers of African (or non-Western) languages as opposed to speakers of Western languages[1]. Pavlenko (2004: 192) notes the possibility of differences arising in this regard, stating

[1] The distinction between 'Western' and 'Non-Western' is an admittedly contentious one,. For the purposes of this study, the term 'Non-Western languages' is used to refer to all African languages as well as all Asian or Eastern languages, while the term 'Western languages' refers to all European and specifically Germanic languages (including Afrikaans).

that the common finding that the L1 is the preferred language for emotional talk and is also considered to carry the strongest emotional force (a finding that has been reflected in most of the literature in this field), may not be "a phenomenon that exists across the board but rather a reflection of romantic ideology of first language primacy, associated with European languages" (Pavlenko 2004: 192). With this in mind, the present study aims to expand the existing body of research in the field of language and emotion by addressing this Western ideological bias and hence bringing new insight into the multilingual language practices prevalent in the Western Cape.

1.2. Research Question and Hypotheses

The aim of this study is to identify sociolinguistic factors that affect patterns of language choice and use among a sample of multilingual speakers from the Western Cape, focusing specifically on emotional situations and affective expression. The linguistic factors to be investigated have been divided into the following categories: Proficiency, Language Use, and Language Perception (this will be outlined in more detail in Chapter 4)[2].

Based on previous research findings, I propose the following hypotheses:

1) That the sociolinguistic factors mentioned above may have a greater effect than the socio-demographic factors[3] on patterns of language choice among multilingual speakers.
2) That there may be differences in the factors that affect language choices with respect to speakers of Western languages versus speakers of Non-Western (i.e. African) languages.

[2] The 'Proficiency' category includes scores for speaking, understanding, reading and writing as well as frequencies of use and code-switching and anxiety levels. 'Language Use' includes expression of feelings, anger, memories, identity, inner speech, mental calculations, swearing, endearments, and emotional significance. 'Language Perception' includes ratings of each language as cold, useful, rich, colourful, poetic, or emotional.

[3] Socio-demographic factors include age of acquisition, ethnicity, gender, and education level.

1.3. Research Design

Given that data was collected by means of a questionnaire (see Appendix A), it did not rely on participant observation but rather gathered self-reported perceptions from the participants. The questionnaire required participants to answer questions about their demographic and linguistic background, as well as their attitudes towards each of the languages they speak and the emotions they associate with those languages. The questionnaire also included questions about the participants' language choices for certain speech acts, specifically with regard to emotional topics, and gave participants the opportunity to reflect on and explain the reasoning behind their language choices for various situations and with various interlocutors.

The participants' answers to the relatively closed-ended questions included in the questionnaire enabled me to identify factors affecting patterns of language choice and usage in a number of situations, especially where topics are emotional in nature. The analysis is purely quantitative, and was mostly done using the exploratory statistical method of correspondence analysis, which will be explained fully in Chapters 4 and 5.

The remainder of this study is structured as follows: Chapters 2 and 3 each provide a literature review covering previous research on the topics of language and emotion, and multilingualism and emotion respectively. Chapter 4 deals with the research methodology, including the research questions and hypotheses, the data collection instrument, participants, and the methods of data analysis used. In Chapter 5 the results are presented; Chapter 6 then offers a discussion of these findings, and lastly Chapter 7 provides a conclusion, including suggestions for further research based on the findings of this study.

Chapter 2
Language and Emotion

In this chapter I will define and outline some of the key concepts and theories related to the investigation of language and emotion. First, I will provide definitions of key terms such as 'emotion', 'taboo words', 'cursing', 'emotion words', emotion-laden words', and emotion-related words'. Next I will discuss three different approaches to emotion research: the nativist approach, the universalist approach and the relativist approach, as well as a language-perception approach that can be seen as encapsulating all three of these approaches. The third section is divided into three sub-sections, each dealing with different linguistic approaches to the study of language and emotion: (i) lexico-grammatical perspectives, (ii) social pragmatic and discourse perspectives, and (iii) psycholinguistic perspectives. In the present study I will combine the more structural linguistic perspectives with the socio- and psycho-linguistic perspectives, hence arguing that the language-emotion link is not a concept that should be studied exclusively from one point of view if a more holistic understanding of this concept is to be gained.

2.1. Defining Emotions

Firstly, perhaps the most important term to attempt to define here is 'emotion', given that the study at hand deals with language and emotion. However, this is also perhaps the most difficult term for which to find a concrete definition, as the literature on this topic gives so many differing views on the matter, depending on the theoretical approach taken by the researcher. In a non-linguistic sense, 'emotion' can be defined as a feeling that is caused by a certain situation or event, or even as the part of a person's character that specifically consists of feelings as opposed to thoughts. In a linguistic sense, Pavlenko classifies emotions as "speech acts that are inseparable from the rhetorical goals of the speaker" (Pavlenko 2005, quoted in Bonnici 2009: 63). She also offers the view that the vocalization of emotions is "relative to the interactional context and linguistic histories of speakers" (Pavlenko 2005,

quoted in Bonnici 2009: 62). That is to say that the way in which any given speaker verbally expresses emotion is shaped by their specific linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Harris, Aycicegi and Gleason (2003) investigated emotion from a more cognitive point of view and argued that "physiological arousal mediates emotional experience": in other words they suggest that emotion is a physiological phenomenon separate from language but mediated and expressed through language (Harris et al 2003, quoted in Eilola & Havelka 2010: 357). Another attempt at defining 'emotion' was made by Scherer (2000) who defines emotions as "episodes of coordinated changes in several components…in response to external or internal events of major significance to the organism" (Scherer, quoted in Wierzbicka 2009: 9). The 'components' that Scherer mentions in his definition include neurophysiological activation, motor expression and subjective feelings, as well as action tendencies and cognitive processes (Wierzbicka 2009: 9), and as such his definition takes on a more cognitive and physiological view of emotion. Frijda (2007) states that emotions involve "motive states that I call states of action readiness", therefore suggesting that emotions involve correlations between feelings or thoughts, and bodily events and processes (Frijda, quoted in Wierzbicka 2009:10).

The expression of emotion has been investigated from various different perspectives. For example, one view is that "each basic emotion, with physiological and expressive symptoms produced by an affect program, also has a unique prototypical subjective feeling state associated with it" (Ogarkova, Borgeaud & Scherer 2009: 344). Furthermore, there is the claim that speakers experience a physiological symptom and then find a matching label in their lexicon to describe that symptom as an 'emotion' (Ogarkova et al 2009: 344). This links to Scherer's view discussed above, in which he states that "action tendencies" are one of the many components that are triggered in emotion episodes, as Ogarkova et al (2009: 345) say that the triggering of these action tendencies results in a label from the mental lexicon being assigned to describe the feeling that the speaker is experiencing. There are two further approaches to the expression of emotion that should be mentioned here: the expressive approach and the cognitive approach. The expressive

approach views language and emotion as two separate but concurrently used systems where the emotion system "impacts on the performance" of the language system (Ogarkova et al 2009: 341). In this view, emotions are understood as "real entities that can shape what people say about emotion but are independent of language" (Ogarkova et al 2009: 341). The cognitive approach states that "emotion language not only reflects but often actively guides or determines emotion perception, recognition, conceptualization, categorization and experience" (Ogarkova et al 2009: 341). This means that utterances expressing emotion are not just descriptive labels but also have the function of shaping and defining the emotions felt by the speaker.

What can be seen from all these different perspectives and definitions is that there is no real consensus as to the concrete definition of 'emotion', but rather a plethora of frameworks within which it can be studied and interpreted. This being said, the present study takes a stance similar to that of Pavlenko on the language-emotion connection that allows for the interplay between the cognitive physiological aspect of emotion and the linguistic (i.e. lexical and semantic) representation thereof; thereby acknowledging the fact that there are both structural linguistic and cognitive factors *and* sociocultural and socio-demographic factors that may simultaneously affect patterns of language choices in emotional contexts.

Taking a stance on language in which structural linguistic factors interact with other factors determining language choice in emotional contexts, it is necessary to make distinctions between the different types of lexical items that can be used to express emotions. 'Emotion words' are words that "directly refer to particular affective states…or processes" and whose function is to describe or express these states (Pavlenko 2006b: 148). For example, in English the word "happy" is an emotion word referring to a state of feeling good or positive. 'Emotion-related words' are slightly different in that they "describe behaviours related to particular emotions" without actually naming them (Pavlenko 2006b: 148). An example of an emotion-related word in English would be "to scream" as this describes the behaviour or action that a person would perform when feeling frightened or angry. The third word type

to be discussed here is 'emotion-laden words' which "do not refer to emotions directly but instead express…or elicit emotions from interlocutors" (Pavlenko 2006b: 148). An example of this in English would be "loser" or "cancer", as calling someone a "loser" makes them experience negative feelings or emotions about themselves, and mentioning "cancer" often makes people feel uncomfortable or fearful. These words cause the interlocutor to experience certain emotions or feelings that are not directly referred to in the utterance. To take the discussion of these three word types a bit further, research into the mental lexicon has shown that there are two basic classes of words: concrete and abstract (Pavlenko 2006b: 148). It has also been shown that concrete words are more easily recalled, recognized and contextualized than abstract words (Pavlenko 2006b: 148); and it has been widely assumed that emotion and emotion-related or -laden words would fall into the abstract word category within the mental lexicon. However, various studies (see for example, Altarriba, Bauer & Benvenuto, 1999; Altarriba & Bauer, 2004; and Altarriba & Canary, 2004) have shown that emotion- and emotion-laden words are in fact "represented, processed, and recalled differently from both concrete and abstract words" (Pavlenko 2006b: 149). Emotion- and emotion-laden words are seen as having the additional components of "valence and arousal" that are not associated with abstract and concrete words, and should therefore be classified as belonging to a different word category within the mental lexicon (Pavlenko 2006b: 149). "*Valence*" refers to the fact that these words are easily recalled within a dimension that qualifies them as either positive or negative (Pavlenko 2006a: 247) and "*arousal*" refers to the fact that they elicit an invigorating physiological reaction in the speaker and/or hearer of the utterance (Pavlenko 2006b: 149). In addition to the qualities of valence and arousal already discussed, emotion and emotion-laden words also differ from both abstract and concrete words in terms of "concreteness, imageability, and context-availability" (Pavlenko 2006b:149). Concreteness refers to the availability of a visual and contextual referent for the word within the mental lexicon, while imageability and context-availability refer to "the ease with which a context or circumstance can be recalled for a particular word" (Pavlenko 2006b: 149).

Emotion words (as Pavlenko classifies them), which have received considerable attention in the literature, are 'taboo words', 'cursing' and 'swearwords'. Jay & Janschewitz (2007: 219) call these types of words "expressives", meaning that they are units of language whose function is to express emotional states or feelings in a physiologically arousing way; as such, they rely more on the connotative meanings associated with them to achieve their full force within the context of an interaction. 'Swearwords' are synonymous with 'cursing' and can be defined as "multifunctional, pragmatic units which assume, in addition to the expression of emotional attitudes, various discourse functions" (Dewaele 2010: 597). They can function as identity markers signalling group membership, they can establish boundaries for social norms, and they can help to organize the structuring of an interaction between interlocutors (Dewaele 2010: 597). Aside from the abovementioned functions of swearwords, they are of course primarily used to express emotion and they carry different emotional impacts depending on the speaker's cultural and language conventions (Dewaele 2010: 598).

An important distinction to bear in mind when defining taboo words is that of *denotative* meaning (the literal meaning of a word or utterance) and *connotative* meaning (the implied figurative meaning of an utterance). This distinction is important as 'taboo words' usually place higher importance on the connotative meaning than on the denotative meaning, as was explained above in relation to 'expressives' in general (Jay & Janschewitz 2007: 218). However, this is not to say that one should *only* be concerned with the connotative meanings of taboo words, as in fact it can be rather difficult to separate connotation and denotation in taboo words despite the fact that they are most commonly used in the connotative sense rather than the denotative sense (Jay & Janschewitz 2007: 219). The important thing to remember with regard to taboo words is that they are "gradable", meaning that "taboo words for a given referent are not emotionally equivalent" (Jay & Janschewitz 2007: 219). In other words, the meaning and impact of taboo words differs according to the interlocutors' cultural conventions and practices as well as the *context* in which they are used (Jay & Janschewitz 2007: 217). Taboo words also have a "unique emotional power" that reflects properties affecting

cognitive processes such as memory and attention (Jay & Janschewitz 2007: 216). This means that taboo words have the characteristics of arousal and valence. In other words they are neurophysiologically arousing and therefore easier to recall (Jay & Janschewitz 2007: 216). Both taboo words and swearwords have also widely been acknowledged in the literature as subcategories of the class of emotion-laden words, which as discussed earlier, are words that "elicit emotions from the interlocutor" (Pavlenko 2006b: 148). This is an appropriate categorization as the use of swearwords or taboo words not only expresses an emotion that the speaker is feeling, but also elicits a certain reaction from the interlocutor due to the fact that these words are neurophysiologically arousing. As such, taboo words can be seen as a "nexus where language and emotions come together" as the processing of these words involves both the semantic network and the activation of autonomic arousal (Pavlenko 2005: 168). This link between the actual words and the feelings and behaviours that they elicit, shows that taboo words are both *linguistically* and *physically* experienced, therefore representing an intersection between the lexical and the embodied facets of emotion (Pavlenko 2005: 169).

Another important distinction is that of *reflective language use* versus *spontaneous language use*. Previous research has pointed out that "our control over swearwords ranges from the reflective forms (e.g. an obscene joke) to the spontaneous forms over which we seem to have little control" (e.g. habitual epithets or momentary outbursts) (Dewaele 2010: 596). This means that not all utterances are planned and reflected upon before they are uttered, and particularly in the case of swearing or any other emotional language use, these utterances are often "unplanned limbic vocalizations" that are out of the speaker's conscious control (Dewaele 2010: 597). This idea is illustrated by the distinction made between non-propositional and propositional speech, where non-propositional speech is "reflexive or automatic" and propositional speech is "novel strategic speech that is made up on the spot" (Jay & Janschewitz 2007: 217). In other words, non-propositional speech is an example of *reflective language use* that is to some extent consciously planned, and propositional speech is an example of unplanned *spontaneous language use* that is produced on the spur of the moment. It is important to note here

that swearing and taboo language are by no means restricted to either propositional or non-propositional speech; on the contrary, swearing and taboo language can and do occur both propositionally and non-propositionally depending on the context of the interaction (Jay & Janschewitz 2007: 217).

2.2 Approaches to Emotion Research

Three dominant approaches to the study of emotion conceptualization can be identified. These (the nativist approach, the universal approach and the relativist approach) each take a different angle on the issue of the expression and conceptualization of emotions, and as such they all largely agree on the fact that there is no single definitive explanation for the workings of the emotion lexicon. There is also a fourth approach, which takes a more linguistically-relative stance on the matter and in a way combines elements of the above three approaches. The different approaches are briefly discussed below.

2.2.1. Nativist, Universalist and Relativist Approaches

The first approach to be discussed is the nativist approach, which is based on the assumption that there exists something called 'mentalese', that is "the innate language of thought, which is prior to and independent of language" (Pavlenko 2005: 79). This means that language and concepts are universal and innate, while the words used to label them are just "reflections of the mental concepts" (Pavlenko 2005: 79). In other words, the nativist approach views all concepts, including emotions, as universal and fully translatable across languages and cultures, even if some languages don't necessarily have words in their lexicon to label them (Pavlenko 2005: 79).

The universalist approach is a much more common approach in language and emotion research. It posits that emotions are "biologically determined processes, depending on innately set brain devices, laid down by evolutionary history" (Damasio 1999, quoted in Pavlenko 2005: 79). In this approach, both language and concepts are secondary to bodily experiences and the words we

use to label concepts such as 'emotions' are just conceptual categories "formed as the situations we experience are linked with the brain apparatus used for the triggering of emotions" (Damasio 2003, quoted in Pavlenko 2005: 79). In other words, the universalist approach states that the physiological arousal that we experience as 'emotion' is the trigger for the lexical labels we use to describe this arousal verbally.

The third approach to be discussed here is the relativist approach, which "questions the existence of basic emotions and the universality of 'emotion', arguing that it is a Western cultural construct" (Pavlenko 2005: 80). This approach argues that the concept of 'emotion' is cross-culturally and cross-linguistically problematic as a way of describing the multitude of different ways in which feelings, reactions, attitudes and internal states are organized in different languages and cultures (Pavlenko 2005: 80). The relativist approach views language as the guiding force behind the acquisition of concepts, and posits that concepts "influence the interpretation of bodily states" (Pavlenko 2005: 80). Therefore, while both the nativist and the universalist approach assume that bodily experiences and emotion concepts exist prior to their lexical labels, the relativist approach assumes that the lexical labels come first and act as a guide for the bodily experiences of 'emotions' (Pavlenko 2005: 80). In other words, nativists and universalists claim that emotions exist as basic concepts regardless of whether or not there are words to describe them in any given language; while relativists claim that emotion concepts only come into being through the existence of a lexical label to define them and that the lack of a term to define any given emotional state corresponds to the lack of such a concept in a given language or culture group (Pavlenko 2005: 87). It is, however, important to clarify that this does not at all mean that the relativist approach assumes that speakers of certain languages do not have certain physical sensations that constitute important emotional concepts, but rather that "these sensations feed into very different notions of inner states and their meanings" in different languages (Pavlenko 2005: 88). In other words, it is not that the speakers of certain languages experience a total lack of a given emotional concept, but rather that they have a completely different frame of reference for such concepts due to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic

differences in the encoding of emotion. Put simply, it is merely that the "emotion terms of one language do not neatly map onto the emotion lexicon of another" (Pavlenko 2005: 77).

To sum up, all three of these approaches to understanding the concept of emotion agree on the fact that there is a huge cross-linguistic variation in the ways in which emotions are expressed and conceptualized, but they differ in their explanations of why and how this comes to be. All three approaches aim to explain this cross-linguistic variation and the dynamic nature of the emotion lexicon by attempting to prove either that it is the lexical label that comes first, or that it is the physiological experience that comes first.

2.2.2. The Linguistically-Relative Approach

A fourth approach to the language-emotion connection is to take a linguistically-relative view, which posits a language-perception link and to some extent encapsulates all three of the above approaches. This view supports the concept of emotion recognition, which is the decoding of emotional information shown through behaviours or facial expressions and is said to be automatic, innate, reflexive, cross-cultural, and applicable to natural categories (Lindquist, Barrett, Bliss-Moureau & Russell 2006: 125). This would indicate that emotion recognition or perception is independent of language, and hence can be aligned with the nativist and universalist approaches discussed above; however, it is important to note that language *does* in fact play an important role in emotion perception due to the part it plays in contextualizing instances of emotion perception (Barrett, Lindquist & Gendron 2007: 327). Context has two basic components: external context which is based on the external surroundings in which an event takes place, and internal context which is based on internal brain processes that shape how this external information is processed (Barrett et al 2007: 327). Language can be seen as a conveyor of internal context, as it constrains and guides meaning in instances of emotion perception where factors such as facial expressions, posture, tone of voice, and social situation can influence the perception and interpretation of emotions (Barrett et al 2007: 327).

Within a linguistically-relative view of emotion, there are various approaches that can be adopted. The "basic emotion approach" states that emotion categories are universal biological states that can either be innate or can develop over time. In this view, the face acts as a transmitter of emotional information that is then triggered by specific brain functions, expressed as behavioural signs (i.e. facial expressions), and recognized by innate and universal mental processes (Barrett et al 2007: 329). Another approach is to support the idea of heterogeneity in emotion, stating that not all instances of emotion are neurophysiologically alike, and that "emotions are not events that broadcast precise information on the face" and hence, while "structural information from the face is necessary" it is not sufficient for emotion perception without being grounded in context (Barrett et al 2007: 329). If one takes the view that emotion concepts are not part of a fixed and universal set of patterns, then emotion terms must necessarily be variable, ambiguous and changeable depending on context (Barrett et al 2007: 328). This illustrates the role of language as internal context for emotion perception, as the linguistic terms used to describe emotions can act to reduce the ambiguity and variability of any given emotion term used (Barrett et al 2007: 328). It also allows for the idea that emotion perception is categorical, as people do in fact interpret discrete emotions such as 'anger' or 'sadness' through facial expressions with relative ease, despite all information pointing to the fact that structural clues are not enough on their own (Barrett et al 2007: 329). Context and conceptual knowledge therefore go hand in hand, as conceptual knowledge (i.e. production and accessibility of words to label concepts or categories such as emotions) helps to ground category acquisition and hence reduce ambiguity and uncertainty about meanings, thereby facilitating emotion perception in context (Barrett et al 2007: 329). In other words, language can be seen as the driving force behind conceptual acquisition, as well as categorization and emotion perception (Lindquist et al 2006: 125-6). Previous research aligned with the idea of linguistic relativity has shown that language influences not only emotion perception, but also colour perception, perception of spatial relations, and various other perceptual categories (Lindquist et al 2006: 126).

This indicates that language, and more specifically semantics, plays an important role in the perception and interpretation of categories such as emotion, an idea which was investigated by Lindquist et al (2006) through the use of the semantic satiation procedure. Semantic satiation is the manipulation of language accessibility through repetition of a word up to 30 times, which results in a temporary decrease in accessibility of the word's meaning (Lindquist et al 2006: 126). It was thought that this procedure would shed light on whether or not a link existed between language and perception, by virtue of the effects on the speed and accuracy of perceptual judgements following satiation (Lindquist et al 2006: 127). Thus, the "category-based" hypothesis stated that only related word categories would be affected by semantic satiation; while the "spreading-activation" hypothesis stated that the satiation effect would extend to any and all categories, and not be limited to related words categories (Lindquist et al 2006: 127). A third hypothesis was the "epiphenomenon" hypothesis which stated that if there was no impact on perceptual judgement after satiation, then this would be counted as evidence against the existence of a language-perception link (Lindquist 2006: 127). The studies conducted using semantic satiation produced results that supported both the category-based and the spreading-activation hypotheses, hence indicating that there is indeed a language-perception link to be observed in the field of emotion perception (see Lindquist et al 2007 for details of these studies).

This linguistically-relative view of the language-perception link provides a way of looking at emotion that goes beyond the traditional debate as to whether linguistic labels or mental concepts came first (as the nativist, universalist and relativist approaches argue), and instead affords an approach that aims to discover just how far into the perceptual processes of the brain language actually reaches (Barrett et al 2007: 332), regardless of whether emotion concepts are viewed as innate and universal, or man-made and culturally and contextually variable. This ties in with the approach that will be taken in the present study, as it allows for the co-existence of the more structural linguistic factors as well as the more innate psycholinguistic factors.

2.3. Linguistic Approaches to Emotion Research

Section 2.2 dealt with three broad perspectives on the workings of the emotion lexicon, however, this section will now deal more specifically with some more linguistic theoretical concepts that have led to the development of different methodological approaches in the field of emotion research to try and explain the connections between emotions and language. These approaches will be discussed within the following categories: (i) *lexico-grammatical approaches*, (ii) *social pragmatic and discourse approaches*, and (iii) *psycholinguistic approaches*. Although these distinctions have been made here, approaches often overlap or are combined in research.

2.3.1. Lexico-Grammatical Approaches

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) was developed as a *semantic methodology* to aid with the understanding of human emotions from a cross-linguistic, cross-cultural and psychological point of view (Wierzbicka 2009: 3). The NSM assumes the existence of universal human concepts and can be described as a "mini-language which corresponds to the intersection – the common core – of all languages" (Wierzbicka 2009: 4). This means that the NSM is used to describe languages and cultures in terms of "simple and universal human concepts" which can be found in all languages of the world and are not culture- or language-specific (Wierzbicka 2009: 4). The advantage of using the NSM methodology in the study of emotion language is that while emotion terms are always culture- and language-specific, and hence not easily transferable across linguistic and cultural boundaries, the NSM views emotions as "cognitive scenarios formulated in simple and universal concepts" which are therefore free from all cultural and linguistic ties and can be transferred across languages and cultures (Wierzbicka 2009: 7). Wierzbicka (2009: 10-11) gives the following example to illustrate how a particular emotion state (in this case something like 'envy' or 'jealousy') could be described in the NSM approach:

This someone feels something bad,
like someone can feel when they feel something because they think like this:
"something very good happened to someone else
it didn't happen to me
this is bad
I want things like this to happen to me"
This someone feels like this because this someone thinks like this.

This methodology is useful, because even in giving this example I labelled the feeling described as 'envy' or 'jealousy', both of which are Anglo-centric labels given to this subjective feeling state, and therefore are not necessarily accurate or neutral in a cross-linguistic context. By using this NSM approach, the 'subjective feeling state' or 'emotion' could be described in a culturally neutral way using a "culture-independent metalanguage" (Wierzbicka 2009: 9). In sum, the NSM can be viewed as a way of overcoming the problem of cultural bias in translating emotions cross-linguistically and cross-culturally by providing a *neutral* and *universal* way of describing such feelings or states of being; in other words it provides a methodology through which the subjective concept of 'emotion' can be studied from a more objective and systematic perspective (Wierzbicka 2009: 11).

Another lexico-grammatical approach to be discussed here is the theory of Appraisal, which falls under the auspices of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is an orientation towards the study of meaning in discourse and was originally born out of an interest in "meaning as function in context" which was investigated by Firth (1957) although the father of SFL is actually considered to be Michael Halliday (1967) (Martin 2002: 52). SFL has come to focus on a kind of interpersonal discourse analysis in which all utterances are said to carry interpersonal values along with the "subjective presencing of the speaker" (White 2005: 19). Since its inception, SFL has developed and expanded to include analysis of the relevant aspects of phonology and grammar in addition to the level of meaning in context (Martin 2002: 57).

An important development within SFL has been the emergence of Appraisal Theory, which was developed from work done in the 1980s and 1990s by various researchers, most notably Iedema, Feez & White (1994), and to which the rest of this section will now be dedicated. Appraisal Theory can be seen as a relatively complex web of inter-connecting systems and sub-systems, and as such is difficult to define in simple terms; however, it is essentially concerned with sets of linguistic resources used by speakers or in texts to "express, negotiate and naturalise particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions" (White 2005: 1). In other words, it is concerned with the different linguistic tools that speakers may use, and the different ways in which they may use these tools, in order to create meaning in context. Given that Appraisal Theory falls under the framework of SFL, it is of course a theory that is based in terms of 'systems', that is "sets of options which are available to the speaker or writer covering the meanings that can be and are typically expressed in particular contexts, and the linguistic means of expressing them" (Martin 2000: 142).

As mentioned above, the Appraisal system is a complex web of inter-connected systems and sub-systems, and as such it can be divided into three main sub-systems: affect, judgement, and appreciation. Each of these sub-systems is in turn comprised of a number of different inter-linked resources. The sub-system of affect deals with the expression of emotions and therefore includes resources such as security/insecurity, happiness/unhappiness, and satisfaction/dissatisfaction (Martin 2000:142). Judgement deals with "moral assessments of behaviour" (Martin 2000: 142), therefore including resources such as propriety, tenacity, veracity, capacity and normality. And finally, appreciation deals with "aesthetic assessments" and includes resources such as valuation, composition and reaction (Martin 2000:142). On the lexico-grammatical level, these three sub-systems are each expressed through different linguistic tools: affectual meaning is usually expressed through affectual grammatical frames (e.g. '*she delighted me*'); judgemental meanings are usually communicated through grammatical frames that comment on behaviour (e.g. 'it was *brave* of them to do that'); and lastly, appreciation is

generally realized through the use of attitudinal adjectives that modify objects of value (e.g. 'a *highly immodest* wine list') (Martin 2000: 146-7).

When considering Appraisal Theory, it is important to note that the three main sub-systems of appraisal (namely affect, judgement, and appreciation) are not mutually exclusive in the ways in which they operate; that is to say, affect can be seen as the 'basic sub-system' that is institutionalized by both judgement (which evaluates behaviour and controls what people do) and by appreciation (which evaluates the products of behaviour, thus attributing value to what people achieve) (Martin 2000: 147). In short, these three sub-systems overlap each other to a certain extent and do not operate in isolation of each other. Further, these three systems and their various resources are complemented by the systems of engagement and amplification, which can be seen as extra resources that serve to modify the work of all three aforementioned appraisal sub-systems.

An interesting application of Appraisal Theory, with particular reference to the attitude and engagement systems, can be seen in Zannie Bock's (2008; 2011) work on code-switching as an appraisal resource in TRC testimonies. Although code-switching was not originally viewed as an appraisal resource, Bock makes a compelling case for its inclusion as such, and given that the present study focuses on multilingual language practices, it is fitting to discuss code-switching and its functions in relation to emotion here. Bock's reasoning for viewing code-switching as an appraisal resource is that "in multilingual contexts code-switching serves a complex evaluative function" (Bock 2008: 200). This aligns it with other appraisal resources that serve the evaluative functions of expressing opinions, constructing relations between interlocutors, and organizing the discourse in context (Bock 2008: 190). Code-switching can be seen as a form of social practice that both constructs and is constructed by the interactional context within which it takes place (Bock 2011: 190) and is hence a sort of identity performance strategy that allows the multilingual speaker to adopt different ideological voices and viewpoints within the same interaction.

Previous research has identified tense-shifts and switches between direct and indirect speech in narratives as being significant evaluative devices, which in the case of tense-shifts can serve to increase the dramatic impact of a narrative, and in the case of direct quotes can act as "markers of heightened emotional intensity…thereby positioning the audience as witnesses and increasing their involvement" (Bock 2008: 193). Bock relates these functions specifically to their use in TRC testimonies, which is relevant to this study as these testimonies dealt with emotional events in the lives of those testifying and thus resulted in emotionally-laden language practices. The specific use of *code-switching* by the testifiers when relating instances of offensive language use can be viewed as a sort of indirect or quoted speech, as they usually switched into the language of the 'other' when relating what had been said as a way of attributing that segment of speech to the 'other'. In this context code-switching functions both as a distancing mechanism and as an ideologically aligned voice in the narrative, allowing the speakers to condemn the brutality and vulgarity of the situations they were recounting, hence positioning the police (whom they were quoting) as the 'other' and increasing the dramatic and emotional tension of the narrative (Bock 2008: 199). As has already been discussed in the preceding chapters of this thesis, interactional discourse can be seen as a performance and construction of identity that indexes a whole range of social meanings in context; this idea is no less applicable to the study of code-switching as an appraisal resource, since code-switching can be used to signal the speaker's evaluation of and attitudes towards the interlocutor and/or ideologies being discussed (Bock 2011: 183). As mentioned above, appraisal theory is essentially concerned with the expression and negotiation of subjective and ideological positions in discourse, be it oral or written discourse (Bock 2011: 185). The specific locus of code-switching within appraisal theory falls within the *engagement system*, as it functions to expand or contract the "dialogic space", creating opportunities for the reader/listener to align themselves with, or reject, the ideological position constructed in the narrative (Bock 2011: 188). In this way, code-switching is just like any other engagement resource within appraisal theory, as it plays an important role in the negotiation of solidarity with the interlocutor or audience (Bock 2011:

188) and thus also functions as an evaluative comment on the speaker's emotional viewpoint towards the topic of the interaction.

2.3.2. Social Pragmatic and Discourse Approaches

This sub-section deals with various approaches to emotion research within the field of social pragmatics and discourse, including relational work, social referencing, and affect keys, as well as code-switching, politeness theory and autobiographical literature. In keeping with the interpersonal orientation to emotion research that most of the approaches discussed thus far have adopted and which will be expanded upon in chapter 3, I start with a discussion of the role of emotions in relational work, which falls under the framework of interpersonal pragmatics. The term 'interpersonal pragmatics' refers to the study of "interactions between people that both affect and are affected by their understandings of culture, society, and their own and others' interpretations" (Langlotz & Locher 2013: 88). As such, this framework highlights the fact that meaning is a socio-culturally constructed phenomenon (an issue that will be discussed at length in chapter 3 of this study). This leads to the emergence of 'relational work' within the field of interpersonal pragmatics, as a way to study "all aspects of the work invested by individuals in the construction, maintenance, reproduction and transformation of interpersonal relationships among those engaged in social practice" (Langlotz & Locher 2013: 88); a central tenet of relational work is thus that all interactions are embedded within "socio-normative contexts that influence the ways in which the communicators choose their ways of signalling" and interpreting emotions (Langlotz & Locher 2013: 89).

In order to understand the place of emotions in relational work and interpersonal pragmatics, it is necessary to consider the evaluative functions of emotions in defining and explaining the worldly experiences of any given speaker. As such, it has been posited that emotions should be seen as multi-dimensional categories which include "internal mental and body states, perceptible display variants, and judgemental processes that lead to subjective evaluations of the inner and outer world of experience" (Langlotz & Locher

2013: 90). In other words, emotions are the tools through which we define, understand and react to our social and physical environments. From this view, emotions are essentially seen as "social and interpersonal phenomena that are embedded within the moral order of a given society or culture", and hence the idea of them being socially constructed phenomena as opposed to biological entities is brought to the fore in the study of relational work and interpersonal pragmatics (Langlotz & Locher 2013: 91). Following this view of emotions, it can be concluded that there is in fact a bi-directional link between emotions and interpersonal social relationships, as emotions act as the instigators of social relationship construction while at the same time these social relationships dictate and regulate the human emotional experience (Langlotz & Locher 2013: 91). In simpler terms, emotions serve both to form and to maintain interpersonal social relationships.

Another important aspect of emotions in relational work is the idea that the creation and encoding of emotional meaning is achieved through a dynamic multi-modal process of signalling, describing, indicating and demonstrating in which all participants in a given interaction must necessarily take part (Langlotz & Locher 2013: 100). In this light it has been proposed that there are four different levels of meaning creation on which speakers and listeners both play active roles in any given interaction: on the first level, behaviours are executed and attended to; on the second level signals of emotion are presented and identified; on the third level, the meaning of these emotional signals is presented and recognized; and finally the fourth level involves the proposal and joint consideration of the outcome of the interaction (Clark 1996, in Langlotz & Locher 2013: 100). These four levels account for the dynamic nature of meaning creation; however, the multi-modal nature is indicated through the fact that signals must be seen as composite constructs made up of both linguistic and non-linguistic methods of signalling (Langlotz & Locher 2013: 100). Hence, the abovementioned processes of describing, indicating and demonstrating can each be seen as accounting for different facets of the emotion-signalling process including both verbal descriptors and non-verbal cues such as facial expressions and other bodily gestures. This points to the fact that the role of emotions in interpersonal relational work is inextricably

linked to the socially constructed and multi-modal semiotics of meaning creation (Langlotz & Locher 2013: 104).

Another pragmatic approach to the study of emotions in language involves the ideas of social referencing and affect keys. Social referencing is linked to the multi-modal dynamic process of emotional interaction discussed above with relevance to relational work, and can be defined as a process whereby "interactants seek out affective information from significant others in their social environment to better understand and respond to uncertain information" (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 21). This 'affective information' can take the form of both verbal and non-verbal cues, including linguistic units as well as facial expressions and bodily gestures, and thus social referencing plays an important role in the dynamic and multi-modal process that is social interaction. Social referencing can thus be seen as a universal human process for assessing and communicating affective or emotional information using both language and bodily gestures. Given the notion of social referencing and its role in social interaction, pragmatics can shed light on the ways in which linguistic resources can act as 'affect keys' that convey emotion in context.

Affect keys can be defined as ways of indicating that "an affective frame or process of affective intensification is in play" and they serve two basic functions: to modulate the affective intensity of an utterance, and to specify the particular affective orientation of an utterance (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 14). The idea of affective keys assumes that there are certain language features used by speakers to communicate affect to others, and that in turn these features are used by others to construct their own subsequent feelings and attitudes (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 9). Affect keys comprise an extensive list of linguistic resources, including lexical, grammatical, and discourse structures (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 12). It is not necessary here to provide an exhaustive list of these resources, suffice to say that in addition to the obvious role that lexical items play in the expression of affect (through the use of emotion words, taboo words etc.), there are also various grammatical structures (such as tense, mood, verb voice, reduplication, and casemarking) as well as discourse strategies (such as code-switching, joking, insulting,

complimenting, etc.) which can be manipulated in the expression of affect. A useful way to view affect keys is in terms of a comment-topic relationship between the affect key and the construction that it modifies (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 18). In this view, the key is seen as an affective *comment* that modifies or describes the construction (utterance/*topic*). Taking this comment-topic relationship further, affect keys may appear in three different positions with respect to the constructions that they modify: 'Affect initiators' appear before the construction they modify as antecedents thereof; 'affect concurrents' appear simultaneously with the construction they modify, thus including, but not limited to, features such as intonation and voice quality; and finally, 'affect terminators' appear after the construction they modify and include resources such as interjections, adverbs, adjectives, address terms etc. (all of which can also be used as affect initiators) (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 19-20). What can be seen by this brief discussion of affective keys and their role in social referencing is that there exists a fundamental human communicative need to express and assess affect in interactions, and that as such the communicative resources used for this purpose are to be found on all levels of the linguistic system, both as verbal elements and as non-verbal elements (Ochs & Schieffelin 1989: 22).

From a more discourse and sociolinguistic perspective, the study of language and emotions involves various different strategies and interpretations of social interaction. The strategies to be discussed here thus include the mediation of affect via the manipulation of certain linguistic and communicative devices, as well as strategies such as code-switching and politeness. In addition to these communicative strategies, the study of the autobiographical literature of multilingual writers as a way of looking at identity construction and expression will also be discussed. As was already mentioned, the expression of affect is a pivotal part of socio-cultural interaction and relations; therefore, the discourse strategies to be discussed in the remainder of this section all serve to illustrate the important link between language and social context.

Politeness theory is yet another aspect of discourse and sociolinguistic research into language and emotions. Politeness theory may be classified by some researchers as a pragmatic approach; however, I discuss it here along

with the discourse and sociolinguistic approaches given that its impact and meaning seem to rely so heavily on sociolinguistic context rather than just on pragmatics. Here I will not go into a detailed account of politeness theory, but will rather provide an account of the ways in which affect is conveyed in terms of *impoliteness*. As such, it is necessary to identify the three main types or functions of impoliteness with respect to affect, namely affective impoliteness, coercive impoliteness, and entertaining impoliteness. Affective impoliteness can be defined as a "targeted display of heightened emotion…with the implication that the target is to blame" (Culpeper 2011: 223); coercive impoliteness can be defined as seeking a "realignment of values between the producer and the target such that the producer benefits" (Culpeper 2011: 226); and entertaining impoliteness can be defined as providing humorous entertainment at the expense of the target (Culpeper 2011: 233). These three functions of impoliteness are not to be seen as mutually exclusive, that is to say it is entirely possible for any given utterance to fulfil more than one of these functions simultaneously (Culpeper 2011: 221). For example, a speaker could produce an utterance that is both coercive in nature as well as entertaining from the point of view that the humour of the utterance leads to the speaker being made to look good (and therefore benefit from the realignment of values) at the expense of the target.

In addition to the three abovementioned functions of impoliteness, politeness theory can also shed light on the matter of intentionality by taking a slightly different approach to the concept of emotions. That is to say, if one views displays of emotion as purely physiological reflexes then there is no role for social cognition and interaction (Culpeper 2011: 56); instead, from an impoliteness point of view, emotions are better viewed as schema-like sequences of sub-events, creating a role for social cognition in the form of script learning and enacting (Culpeper 2011: 56-7). Hence, the view taken of the relationship between affect and impoliteness is that emotional meaning is tied up in the process of socio-cognitive appraisal and that emotions are therefore not just physiological reflexes but rather socio-cultural constructs (Culpeper 2011: 66). The notion of intentionality subscribes to the same view that has been discussed with reference to the earlier sections of this chapter,

namely that communication involves a dynamic construction of meaning in which all participants of an interaction must necessarily be a part. As such, intentionality is defined as a form of non-factual social judgement that combines intention (i.e. desire for an outcome and belief in the possibility of this outcome) with the speaker's skill or ability to bring about said outcome (Culpeper 2011: 49). Taking this definition further, intentionality comprises four different components, which are as follows: *desire* for an outcome, beliefs about an action that will lead to a certain outcome, *intention* to perform said action, *skill* to perform said action, and *awareness* of fulfilling the intention (Culpeper 2011: 49). The notion of intentionality therefore offers yet another instance in which affect is to be seen as a socially constructed phenomenon that relies on both parties in any given interaction for the successful communication of affective meaning in context.

The study of discourse in sociolinguistics is not limited to oral expression and communication, as there is a body of research that has looked at the discursive construction of social identities in autobiographical literature, that is, through the medium of written discourse as opposed to oral discourse. This line of research looks at the ascription of different emotional values to each language known to the speaker as well as the "evolving emotional impact" of different languages over the course of the speaker's life narrative, thus viewing languages as "discursive constructions, illuminating the process of electing a new emotional life through a foreign language" (Kinginger 2004: 159). There have been a range of literary publications, of the autobiographical and memoir genres, that have dealt with the connections between language, identity and socio-political history in the lives of multilingual writers; Thus, a point of enquiry for sociolinguistic research opened up, taking a broad stance on the motivations behind L2 learning and use, viewing language learners as individuals in their own right whose language practices are influenced and shaped by their personal life trajectories (Kinginger 2004: 163). Further, research in this vein has found a connection between "the learner's dynamic agency and investment in learning, and emotions as discursive constructions shaped by the historical, cultural and social conventions of the time and place where they are produced" (Kinginger 2004: 160-1). In other words, there is

said to be a connection between the personal reasons for wanting to speak another language and the resultant construction of a new autobiographical self through socio-cultural contexts of language use (Kinginger 2004: 164).

A common finding in research on autobiographical literature among multilingual writers is the so-called "second-language-as-escape-route", which reveals that the adoption of the second language and the subsequent rejection of the first language can provide the speaker/writer with a much needed escape from the emotional trauma that is often attached to the first language, especially in cases where the writer's personal life trajectory has been shaped by immigration or other forms of socio-political and socio-cultural upheaval (Kinginger 2004: 175). One such example is the case of bilingual writer Nancy Huston, who felt the need to escape and distance herself from her L1 English, which she associated with the traumatic events of her childhood including her parents' divorce and her mother's subsequent departure from the family structure. Huston has published numerous literary works, many of which deal to some extent with the adoption of her L2 French and the "liberating effect" it exerted on her life by virtue of the "emotional detachment" and distance from the past that it afforded her (Kinginger 2004: 168). In her writings Huston mentions the fact that "the absence of emotional resonance in French rendered that language accessible to a cold approach" which meant for example that she came to feel safer using emotional and taboo terms in her L2 French as opposed to her L1 English by virtue of the emotional detachment of the L2 (Kinginger 2004: 171). This is a finding that has been widely explored in research on language and emotions in multilingualism (see for example Dewaele 2004a), and which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

2.3.3. Psycholinguistic Approaches

There has also been much research on language and emotion done from a psycholinguistic perspective, which is an obvious framework from which to investigate such a topic due to the complex nature of emotions being at the intersection of language and physical experience. In this sub-section I will

discuss a number of theories and principles which have been used in the psycholinguistic study of language and emotion, starting with the principle of Linguistic Relativity, otherwise known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which states that the languages we speak shape our worldview and influence how we understand and interpret reality (Oostendorp 2012: 389). This principle has been widely studied over the years since its inception, with many different interpretations arising. Some researchers claim that "differences in linguistic structure lead to differently organized cognitive structures", whilst others claim that "different linguistic categories simply make certain aspects of reality more salient than others" (Oostendorp 2012: 389). Whorf himself worded the principle slightly differently, saying that speakers of different languages are "pointed by their grammars towards different types of observation and different evaluations of externally similar acts of observation" hence causing them to arrive at different views of the world (Whorf 1955, quoted in Oostendorp 2012: 393). These interpretations of Linguistic Relativity are particularly interesting when dealing with bi- and multilingual speakers, as they suggest that each of the different languages known to any given speaker will necessarily shape the speaker's worldview in slightly different ways (Besemeres 2011: 497). Research on multilingualism has frequently shown that different languages are linked with different ways of thinking and feeling, as well as different attitudes and ways of expressing ones feelings and relating to other people (Wierzbicka 2004: 98). In addition to this, it has been suggested that each language has its own "emotion vocabulary", i.e. a "set of concepts by means of which the speakers of any given language make sense of their own and other people's feelings", and that this emotion vocabulary is language-specific (Wierzbicka 2004: 94). This relates to the Linguistic Relativity principle as it shows that depending on which language a speaker uses he/she will make use of a different set of concepts to describe his/her feelings and that the words or concepts chosen will help to shape those feelings, and hence influence how the speaker perceives and experiences them (Besemeres 2004: 145).

The brief discussion of Linguistic Relativity opens a doorway to the different ways in which languages encode emotions. It has been shown in previous

research that there are cross-linguistic differences, not only in terms of the actual words used to describe emotions, but also in the ways in which these emotions are encoded lexically, for example some languages encode emotions as inner states while others encode them as processes (Bonnici 2009: 62). That is to say, some languages tend to use adjectives or nouns to lexicalize emotions, therefore encoding them as inner states of being, while other languages may use verbs to lexicalize emotions, therefore encoding them as processes or actions (Pavlenko 2005: 89). The cross-linguistic differences in the encoding of emotions do not stop at the distinction between states versus processes; in fact there are a variety of other differences to point out. Some cultures view emotions as "generated by external events and mental perceptions of these events" while other languages view people as the "causal antecedents of emotions" (Pavlenko 2005: 91). There are also cross-linguistic differences in terms of the attitudes towards emotion-causing events and the ways in which people are expected to react to such events. For example, in Japanese culture showing signs of dependence is seen as a positive attribute, while in Western cultures it can be seen as childish or shameful depending on the context of the situation (Pavlenko 2005: 91).

Both the idea of Linguistic Relativity and the notion of different languages encoding emotions in different ways are related to the phenomenon of 'language embodiment' and 'linguistic/affective socialization'. The phenomenon of 'linguistic socialization' is not only seen in multilingualism but is in fact an integral part of the primary language acquisition process that begins in infancy. Linguistic development in early childhood has been shown to coincide with conceptual development as well as the development of emotional regulation systems and the process of affective socialization (Pavlenko 2006b: 156). This means that during the language learning process, the L1 vocabulary "acquires affective and autobiographical dimensions, with some words becoming stimuli for positive or negative arousal" (Pavlenko 2006b: 156). In the case of a multilingual speaker, this same process of socialization must also take place in each of the languages learned so that the learner can develop prototypical 'emotion scripts' and learn which emotions are elicited by which events and in what context such emotions should be

expressed (Pavlenko 2006b: 151). This process is known as "secondary affective socialization" and is an integral part of the second language (L2) acquisition process as it teaches speakers how to encode and interpret certain concepts such as emotions in their new language. Affective socialization in the L2 can be seen as a contributing factor in the language choices of multilingual speakers, as studies have shown that speakers who have been socialized into the L2 culture, or who are in relationships with native speakers of the L2, exhibit a rise in emotionality of L2 emotion terms due to the contexts in which they have come to use such words, and thus may choose to use the L2 instead of the L1 for the expression of specific emotions (Pavlenko 2006b: 158). It is important to note that many L2 speakers may in fact *recognize and understand* certain words or expressions on a basic level, but this is *not* the same as having an actual authentic *conceptual representation* of the words or expressions (Pavlenko 2005: 85); this conceptual representation, which is central to the process of properly understanding and using a language, can only come about through extensive affective socialization into the L2 culture, thereby making the learner aware of the differences between the ways in which their various languages encode concepts such as emotions (Pavlenko 2005: 85).

The process of affective socialization feeds into the theory of 'language embodiment', which posits that the different linguistic trajectories of multilinguals lead to different neurophysiological responses to each of their languages (Pavlenko 2005: 153). This theory is based on the fact that there are two basic interrelated processes that take place during language acquisition, as discussed earlier, namely: 'conceptual development' and 'affective linguistic conditioning'. 'Conceptual development' is the process by which words and phrases "acquire denotative meanings" and through which conceptual categories are formed due to the use of these words and phrases in a multitude of different contexts (Pavlenko 2005: 154-5); Through the process of 'affective linguistic conditioning', words and phrases move on to acquire affective connotations, that is to say they gain personal meanings for the speaker through "association and integration with emotionally charged memories and experiences" (Pavlenko 2005: 155). Together these two

processes make up the theory of language embodiment in which words "invoke both sensory images and physiological reactions" (Pavlenko 2005: 155); the language accordingly becomes more than just a collection of words and phrases and actually takes on an emotional position in the speaker's communicative repertoire.

An important clarification to the theory of language embodiment is that the *context* of language acquisition is seen to play a prominent role in the embodiment process. This can be illustrated through a discussion on the Emotional Contexts of Learning Theory, which was developed by Harris, Gleason & Aycicegi to account for the findings of previous research on bilingualism and emotion (Harris et al 2006: 257). This theory will become more relevant in Chapter 3, which deals with multilingualism and emotion; nevertheless, it is still appropriate to describe it here as it deals with the fundamental workings of language learning and its connection to emotion.

The assumption upon which the Emotional Contexts of Learning Theory is based is that "language comes to have a distinctive emotional feel by virtue of being learned, or habitually used, in a distinctive emotional context" (Harris et al 2006: 272). As such, it is the context in which a language is learned that will affect how the speaker relates to and uses that language in their everyday life, and in the case of a bilingual speaker, affects their emotional attachment to each of their languages (Harris et al 2006: 272). The justification for this view on language emotionality is that human experiences are usually learned and remembered context-dependently, therefore specific languages will be remembered, and their words stored in the mental lexicon, within the context in which they were first acquired or are most often used (Harris et al 2006: 272).

It has been widely claimed in the study of bi- and multilingualism that the age of onset of learning plays an important role in the eventual level of proficiency attained as well as the emotional force that a language takes on for any given speaker. However, the Emotional Contexts of Learning Theory makes rather a strong claim, saying that "although age of acquisition is frequently correlated

with measures of emotional force, the real causal factors are the language contexts that typically co-occur with early learning" (Harris et al 2006: 275). This means that, from the point of view of the Emotional Contexts of Learning Theory, early onset of learning *does* play an important role, but not just by virtue of the learner starting young; it is actually due to the fact that in childhood "linguistic development coincides with conceptual development and the development of emotional regulation systems" and thus the vocabulary of a language acquired at this time will necessarily take on "affective and autobiographic dimensions with some words becoming stimuli for positive or negative arousal" (Pavlenko 2006b: 156). However, the theory also makes provision for languages learned in adulthood, and to a less than native-like level of proficiency, to be classed as highly emotional provided that the context of learning is highly emotional and approximately equivalent to the emotional immersion contexts of childhood just mentioned (Harris et al 2006: 275).

In sum, the Emotional Contexts of Learning Theory can be seen as an explanation for the perceived emotional force that a speaker attaches to the language(s) he/she speaks. The theory explains phenomena such as 'language-dependent memory' and 'associative learning', i.e. the fact that speakers are able to recall life events better when speaking about them in the language in which the events took place (Harris et al 2006: 270), and the fact that language forms seem to be stored in the mental lexicon within the context in which they were acquired (Harris et al 2006: 273). The theory also supports the finding that languages learned in formal contexts have lower emotionality than languages learned in more naturalistic settings, a finding that has been widely confirmed in previous literature (Harris et al 2006: 274), as languages learned in more natural contexts are said to be more emotional and embodied than those learned in formal classroom contexts (Pavlenko 2005: 173). This serves as a further explanation for why there is not in actual fact such a clear cut distinction between the L1 as the language of emotions and the L2 as the language of detachment, as is commonly claimed, because by virtue of affective socialization and the use of the language in natural and emotional contexts, L2 words "may become embodied and elicit physical sensations and

autobiographical memories" hence going against the idea of the L1 as the language of emotion and the L2 as the language of detachment (Pavlenko 2005: 236).

Also within the field of psycholinguistic research on emotion, it has been proposed that there are three different types of emotion lexicon, namely the L1-influenced lexicon, the L2-influenced lexicon, and the Transcultural lexicon. Before launching into a discussion of these three types of lexicon, it is first important to identify some factors affecting the structure of the emotion lexicon, with particular focus on bilingualism, as these three types of lexicon refer specifically to bilingual speakers. Firstly, the 'L1 primacy effect' results in L1 emotion and emotion-laden words being "more elaborately encoded and contextualized than L2 words" within the mental lexicon (Pavlenko 2005: 106). This means that there is a distinct possibility of L1 words being transferred into the L2 despite cross-linguistic differences, because the mental lexicon has more information about the L1 words than it does about the L2 words (Pavlenko 2005: 106). Secondly, the 'L2 socialization effect' shows that speakers who have experienced low levels of socialization in the L2 culture will "exhibit L1 transfer effects in representation of L2 emotion and emotion-laden words…while speakers socialized in the L2 culture have distinct L1 and L2 representations" (Pavlenko 2005: 107). What this means is that speakers who have spent a significant amount of time immersed in the L2 culture, or who use the L2 on a regular basis, will have two separate emotion categories in their mental lexicon: one for the L1 and another for the L2; while speakers who have not had this exposure to, or socialization in, the L2 culture and who do not use the L2 on such a regular basis will be more inclined to transfer L1 emotion terms into the L2 mental lexicon.

The 'L1 primacy effect' and the 'L2 socialization effect' are both based on the observation that there are different types of emotion lexicon in the case of bilingual speakers. The first of these types is the L1-influenced emotion lexicon in which "L2 words are linked to L1 concepts, leading to L1 transfer into L2 use and to L1-based emotion categorization" (Pavlenko 2005: 107). This means that the speaker uses his/her L1 lexicon as a base for the

expression of emotion no matter which language he/she is using to express emotion, therefore the speaker tends to transfer L1 emotion terms into the L2, disregarding any cross-linguistic differences there may be. The L1-influenced emotion lexicon is common in speakers who have lower levels of proficiency and lower levels of L2-socialization, as discussed above (Pavlenko 2005: 107).

The second type of emotion lexicon is the L2-influenced lexicon in which "L2 concepts influence L1 concepts, leading to L2 transfer in L1 use and to L2-based emotion categorization" (Pavlenko 2005: 107). This means that the L2-influenced lexicon works in exactly the opposite way from the L1-influenced lexicon, as the name aptly suggests. Therefore, this type of lexicon is most common in speakers who have "experienced prolonged L2 socialization and live or work in the L2 environment" (Pavlenko 2005: 107) hence having less opportunity to use the L1.

The third and last type of emotion lexicon is the Transcultural lexicon in which "representations of emotion words correspond more or less to those of monolingual native speakers of the respective languages or are easily modified depending on the context and interlocutors" (Pavlenko 2005: 108). This means that a speaker with a transcultural emotion lexicon will not need to choose between either an L1 or an L2 base as he/she can in fact switch between the two at will. This type of emotion lexicon is most common in speakers who constantly move between the L1 and L2 environments and therefore consistently interact with speakers of both languages (Pavlenko 2005: 108).

These three types of bilingual emotion lexicon should not be taken as one hundred percent concrete, as there may very well be speakers who aren't quite transcultural but do in fact have the ability to switch from an L1-influenced base to an L2-influenced base in certain situations. Therefore, these types of lexicon should merely be interpreted as a handy way to explain differences among speakers in terms of their emotion expression and not as separate finite categories into which all speakers must be sorted.

Chapter 3
Multilingualism and Emotion

The focus of this chapter is on multilingualism and how it affects the expression of emotions. Firstly, I will provide a critical discussion of the multi-faceted phenomenon that is known as multilingualism. Secondly, I will discuss a number of concepts and approaches to multilingual research that challenge current traditional notions of multilingualism, for example heteroglossia, linguistic repertoires, metrolingualism and multi-competence. Thirdly, I will contextualize multilingualism by showing how in Africa it is different from other parts of the world in terms of both its context and its characteristics; this is particularly relevant as this study is situated in the multilingual context of the Western Cape, South Africa and hence there are different factors at play which may influence the findings in a way that is different from those studies done before. Fourthly, I will discuss the different approaches that have been taken towards the study of emotions and multilingualism, both from a psycholinguistic perspective and from a sociolinguistic perspective. And lastly, I will discuss the various social and linguistic factors that are said to affect the language choices of multilinguals with reference to emotional expression or performance.

3.1. Defining Multilingualism

Multilingualism is a multi-faceted phenomenon that can be approached from an interdisciplinary perspective. Just as there are a multitude of different definitions of emotion, as was discussed in Chapter 2, there have also been many different definitions of multilingualism. For example, it has been defined as "the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives" (Cenoz 2013: 5). Another definition, proposed by Li (2008) sates that a multilingual is "anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)" (Li 2008, quoted in Cenoz

2013: 5). Still another definition is that multilingualism "describes the various forms of social, institutional, and individual ways that we go about using more than one language" (Franceschini 2011: 344) and as such it deals with "the development of knowledge and is observable in social interaction and discourse" (Franceschini 2011: 352). Pavlenko offers another use-based definition of multilingualism, saying that it involves "speakers who use two or more languages or dialects in their everyday lives – be it simultaneously (in language contact situations) or consecutively (in the context of immigration)" (Pavlenko 2005: 6).

These various definitions show that there are different perspectives or dimensions from which the topic of multilingualism can be approached. For example, Cenoz proposes three dimensions, namely the individual versus social dimension, the proficiency versus use dimension, and the bilingualism versus multilingualism dimension (Cenoz 2013: 5). Franceschini also proposes three dimensions similar to those of Cenoz (i.e. the social, institutional and individual dimensions), but then goes on to add a fourth dimension, namely "discursive multilingualism" which deals with multilingual group behaviour, therefore putting social group interaction at the centre of the issue (Franceschini 2011: 347).

This section will provide a brief overview of the various ways in which the phenomenon of multilingualism has been approached. According to Cenoz, individual multilingualism can be viewed as "the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use" (Cenoz 2013: 5). Individual multilingualism has also been referred to as "plurilingualism", which focuses more on the individual speaker's *linguistic repertoire* than on his/her different languages as separate entities (Cenoz 2013: 5). An important feature of individual multilingualism is that there may be differences in the language acquisition process from one multilingual speaker to the next. In other words, some speakers may acquire their languages simultaneously while others may acquire them consecutively by virtue of being exposed to the L2 only later in life (Cenoz 2013:5). In contrast to individual multilingualism is societal multilingualism, which deals with the language use of a whole society as opposed to just individual speakers. On the societal level, multilingualism can be viewed as a "social construct" where different languages and varieties are "legitimated by

the social groups in power" and hence language comes to be viewed as a socially constructed ideological resource as opposed to a linguistic system for communication (Cenoz 2013: 9). Linked to the idea of language as a resource, is the idea that language choice can be seen as an "act of identity" on the part of the speaker (Cenoz 2013: 9). Franceschini's views are also relevant here, as she puts social group interaction at the centre of her definition of multilingualism, as mentioned above, saying that multilingualism is essentially a "dynamic, usage-based, and culturally-rooted" phenomenon (Franceschini 2011: 346). On the individual level of multilingualism, Franceschini offers some interesting insight on the perceived differences between monolingual and multilingual speakers, saying that "multilingualism is only a special case of variable use" and that the real difference between monolinguals and multilinguals lies in the fact that multilinguals "have more varied communicative experiences" due to using more languages than monolinguals (Franceschini 2011: 350) and that multicompetence, which is a compound mental state comprising "knowledge of two languages in one mind" (Cook 2008: 17), is in fact potentially a basic ability of all speakers.

The second of the three dimensions of multilingualism proposed by Cenoz is the proficiency versus use dimension. This is related to the individual versus societal dimension in that proficiency is often considered in the study of individual multilingualism, where distinctions are made between minimal and maximal proficiency in each of the speaker's languages and also between balanced and unbalanced bilinguals (Cenoz 2013: 6). The concept 'balanced bilingual' is defined as someone who has equal proficiency in each of their languages, while the concept 'unbalanced bilingual' is defined as someone who has a higher proficiency level in one of their languages (Cenoz 2013: 6). Here it is also useful to further explicate the term "multicompetence", which can be seen as one of the many facets of the phenomenon of multilingualism, and is defined as "the coexistence of more than one language in the same mind" (Cook, quoted in Franceschini 2011: 349). Cook has also theorized that multicompetence involves a "distinct compound state of mind…which is not equivalent to two monolingual states" (Cook, quoted in Pavlenko 2005: 11). This means that a multilingual's linguistic system is not made up of two complete or incomplete monolingual systems, but is rather the product of the individual's unique needs and linguistic

environment (Pavlenko 2005: 12). Multicompetence further entails a broader perspective on the cognitive aspects of multilingualism in that it views multilingualism as "a basic ability of every person" and emphasizes that the interplay between the L1 and L2 in the mind of a multilingual (or multicompetent) speaker is bi-directional (Franceschini 2011: 349). In other words, each of the languages that makes up a multilingual speaker's linguistic repertoire interacts with and influences the others in every interaction and this interaction and influence is not only from L1 to L2, but also from L2 to L1. To take the definition of multicompetence a little further, it has been described as both a tool and a state relating to "the complex, flexible, integrative, and adaptable behaviour which multilingual individuals display" (Franceschini 2011: 351). In other words, the emphasis is still on multilingualism and multicompetence being *dynamic usage-based processes* that are sensitive to different cultural contexts and hold inter-group interactions at their core (Franceschini 2011: 351).

Having discussed multilingualism in terms of the distinctions between the individual and the societal level, it is useful to mention three further dimensions of multilingualism that contribute to a holistic view of the phenomenon which Cenoz (2013: 11) dubs "focus on multilingualism": the multilingual speaker, the whole linguistic repertoire, and the social context. With reference to the 'multilingual speaker', both Cenoz (2013: 11) and Franceschini (2009: 350) note that multilinguals have a wider pool of resources with which to communicate than do monolinguals, and that multilinguals tend to use their different languages for certain purposes and to suit their contextual communicative needs. With regard to the 'whole linguistic repertoire', the important point to make is that multilinguals use their linguistic resources in such a way that they challenge the notion of fixed language boundaries, thus creating a hybrid type of communication (Cenoz 2013: 12). Finally, in terms of the 'social context', Cenoz's holistic view of multilingualism draws attention to the importance of the context of interaction, saying that multilinguals must essentially acquire the "skills to be accepted as a member of a community of practice", or social group, and hence they learn to use each of their languages contextually (Cenoz 2013: 13).

As can be seen from the discussion thus far, there is a large and diverse body of literature on multilingualism, offering up many different perspectives and theories from which the phenomenon can be approached. The selection of references used here can be seen as reflective of the current efforts to bring the study of societal and individual multilingualism closer together. It makes sense to use these specific references, at the exclusion of other literature offering different perspectives on multilingualism, given that the present study is contextualised in a highly multilingual society that also includes many cases of what can be seen as individual multilingualism, and hence provides a platform for bringing the two 'sides' of multilingualism together.

3.2. Contesting Multilingualism

In recent years the traditional notion of multilingualism has to a large extent been deconstructed under the influence of poststructuralist sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, with other approaches and definitions coming into play in the field of multilingualism research. This section will deal with a number of these different ways of approaching multilingualism, namely: the notion of multilingualism as being a "new linguistic dispensation", the idea of heteroglossia, the linguistic repertoire, metrolingualism (all ideas developed in sociolinguistics), and multi-competence (developed in psycholinguistics and second language acquisition).

What all of these approaches share is that they no longer view languages as rigid monolithic structures, focusing instead on the "mobilization of diverse language resources" (Makoni & Pennycook 2012: 439). As such, the new focus of multilingualism research is on the communication of meaning through linguistic acts of identity, as opposed to counting languages as bounded entities that are collected by their individual speakers (Makoni & Pennycook 2012: 440-1). In the case of multicompetence the focus is on conceptualising multilingualism not as two distinct competencies in two different languages but to emphasize the uniqueness of multilingual competence. These newer approaches to the study of multilingualism call for a distinction to be made between human-centred and

language-centred notions of multilingualism, where the human-centred point of view is now preferred, as it incorporates factors such as social activity, location and movement as well as the perspectives of the individual language users (Makoni & Pennycook 2012: 441). Languages are no longer viewed as objects, but as tools of social interaction, and as such multilingualism research must do away with the idea of multilingualism referring to the "plurality of languages" because if languages are not single and separate objects then there is little sense in the idea of their pluralisation in multilingualism (Makoni & Pennycook 2012: 442). The traditional notion of multilingualism as comprising a set of non-related languages as bounded entities is increasingly problematic in the field of multilingual research, most notably due to the fact that increases in globalization and social mobility have lead to increased sociocultural diversity and heterogeneity within the populations of individual countries or regions. This necessarily means that monolingualism can no longer be viewed as the norm, as it has been previously. With all this in mind, it is only logical that multilingualism be viewed as a kind of lingua franca in its own right, made up of diverse linguistic features blended together in the personal linguistic trajectory of each individual speaker (Makoni & Pennycook 2012: 446), thus doing away with the need to compare multilingual speakers with their native-speaker counterparts.

In short, the premise upon which the following new approaches to multilingualism are all based lies in a distinction between multilingualism as being made up of plural monolingualisms, in which languages are treated as distinct and autonomous entities; and multilingualism as a lingua franca, in which language use is viewed as a fluid and constantly changing chain of communicative resources (Makoni & Pennycook 2012: 447).

3.2.1. The New Linguistic Dispensation

Aronin and Singleton (2008) propose an interesting theory based on the concept of "world order" which has its origins in political science. The concept of "world order" can be defined as multidimensional and dynamic "patterned human activities, interaction regularities or practices evident on a world scale" including both "motivating or dispositional elements, environmental-geographic contexts,

and associated outcomes and effects" (Alker at al 2001, quoted in Aronin & Singleton 2008: 4). This concept of "world order" can be related to the study of multilingualism in terms of the diversity of language use that is spreading worldwide and the fact that there is now more focus on the function of sets of languages in the global community instead of focussing on single languages performing communicative functions (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 4). Based on these assumptions, Aronin and Singleton posit that multilingualism can be seen as a type of new "world order", which they term the "new linguistic dispensation". Their theory is closely linked with the politico-scientific notion of "world order" and as such shares most of the features that have served to modify human experience under globalization. For example, looking at the level of time, it can be seen that linguistic processes take place within varying time regimes, with interactions and meaning-making most often being instantaneous. With respect to multilingual speech, the modification of time can be seen on the individual level (through code-switching in order to get a specific meaning across) and on the societal level (through shifts in the lingua franca of certain population groups due to migration) (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 5). Migration has also served to modify the experience of global space through the restructuring of sociolinguistic arrangements as different groups of speakers come together or are torn apart, leading to the emergence of new multilingual environments (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 6). This new socio-cultural structure of society through time and space would of course not be possible without the increase in mobility that has come as part and parcel of globalization and the new "world order". As such, multilingualism can be seen as an explicit product of societal fluidity and mobility as different languages are coming together in new ways (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 6). What is more, multilingualism can now be seen as an indispensible part of globalization, playing both a causal role and a resultant role, as many of the cultural, economic, political and communicative developments of globalization would not have been possible without the interplay of different languages coming together in new environments; moreover, these languages would also not necessarily have come together in these new ways without the increase in social mobility and other factors of globalization (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 8).

Having thus far pointed out all the shared attributes of globalization and multilingualism, it is also important to outline some of the critical differences between 'historical multilingualism' (i.e. pre-globalization) and 'contemporary multilingualism' (i.e. post-globalization). Firstly, it should be noted that in the past in situations where two or more languages were used together these languages tended to share regional or national origins, whereas nowadays languages used together may have a diverse range of origins (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 10). However, it should of course be noted that in African contexts it was common for entirely unrelated languages to come into contact during colonial times when colonial languages were used in conjunction with local African languages. On a related note is the issue of social class, as it used to be the case that knowledge of more than one language was a marker of certain social class membership, whereas nowadays multilingualism is increasingly spread across a variety of social classes (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 10). The same broadening of multilingual speech norms applies to areas such as the typical geographic locations for certain languages as well as the idea of certain professions lending themselves more towards multilingual speech (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 10).

What can be taken from this discussion of multilingualism as the "new linguistic dispensation", is that all the major attributes of globalization in the politico-scientific sense are also applicable to multilingualism and that any differences between the pre-globalization and post-globalization views of multilingualism are essentially based on the degree to which multilingual speech played a role in social identity construction (Aronin & Singleton 2008: 12).

3.2.2. Heteroglossia

The term "heteroglossia" was originally coined by Russian language philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin and refers to "the simultaneous use of different kinds or forms of signs; and…the tensions and conflicts among those signs, based on the sociohistorical associations they carry with them" (Ivanov, quoted in Bailey 2012: 499). Importantly, heteroglossia is seen as incorporating not only distinct languages but also different dialects and registers, and as such the term is often interpreted as referring to the "social diversity of speech types" (Bailey 2012:

499). An important distinction that can be made between the traditional idea of multilingualism and the idea of heteroglossia is that heteroglossia focuses strongly on the social context of language use, while multilingualism focuses more on the coexistence of languages as discrete systems (Bailey 2012: 500). Further, heteroglossia sees language as a "social phenomenon" in which linguistic form and ideological meaning are inseparable concepts (Bailey 2012: 501). The context of language use is seen as central to the creation of meanings, as utterances occur in non-neutral contexts that are influenced and shaped both by prior usages and associations and by their current contextual usages (Bailey 2012: 502). In other words, the focus on social diversity and meaning through language use posits that the different languages (or different forms of linguistic signs) that speakers use are never entirely novel utterances, but rather that they are influenced both by what has been said before and by what is being said at that specific moment.

In terms of the use of multiple languages or styles in dialogue, heteroglossia views this concept as a "way of negotiating social and communicative worlds" with the speaker essentially being a "social actor" using certain sets of linguistic resources to negotiate meanings (Bailey 2012: 504). As such, heteroglossia sees the construction of meaning in language as a product of both linguistic form and historical social relations or tensions (Bailey 2012: 505).

There is a relatively large body of research that has taken the heteroglossic view on multilingual language practices, especially in the study of code-switching. Studies which take this view and specifically challenge the notion that the languages used in code-switching are distinct from each other and that they necessarily create distinct social meanings that do not correlate with those created in monolingual contexts include Heller (2007), Meeuwis & Blommaert (1998), and Woolard (2004), to name but a few. One of the more widely investigated multilingual language practices has been the notion of intra-sentential code-switching which "directly undermines assumed distinctions among languages" (Bailey 2012: 503). Studies on intra-sentential code-switching as a heteroglossic phenomenon include for example Myers-Scotton's (1993) work on code-switching among the children of migrant labourers to Western societies, as well

as in urban African contexts. There has also been research of a more socio-political nature that views code-switching as a form of resistance to dominant ideologies (cf. Gal 1988) and as a way of constructing a new self that transcends traditional notions of socio-cultural boundaries between classes, races, and language groups (cf. Zentalla 1997).

What can be seen from this brief discussion is that heteroglossia offers a wider view of the phenomenon of multilingual speech by connecting the linguistic utterance to both present and socio-historical patterns of meaning, created through multilingual language practices such as code-switching. Heteroglossia therefore affords us a look beyond just the idea of multiple discrete linguistic systems being used side by side in unrelated ways and allows for a blurring of the perceived boundaries between languages and the cultures to which they traditionally 'belong'.

3.2.3. Linguistic Repertoires

Another way of approaching or contesting the notion of multilingualism is through the use of the term "linguistic repertoires" which, similarly to heteroglossia, also grounds linguistic practices in terms of their social context of use within a given speech community (Busch 2012: 3). Gumperz defined the verbal or linguistic repertoire as containing "all the accepted ways of formulating messages" within any speech community, saying that the verbal repertoire in a sense "provides the weapons of everyday communication" (Gumperz, quoted in Busch 2012: 2). Also in a similar vein to the notion of heteroglossia discussed above, the idea of the linguistic repertoire views languages and dialects as "constituent varieties of the same verbal repertoire" regardless of any grammatical differences (Gumperz, quoted in Busch 2012: 2). As such, the focus is on speech styles including social categories and moving beyond the constraints of languages as discrete linguistic systems (Busch 2012: 2). An important note to make here is that although social context within a given speech community is to a large extent the focus of Gumperz's idea of the linguistic repertoire, the repertoire is in fact linked more to the individual speaker's personal biographical trajectory than to any national or social space (Busch 2012: 4). This allows for a more fluid

movement between languages and speech styles without tying them to any specific place or ethnic group and allows for a move away from viewing languages as bounded entities. As such, the linguistic repertoire can be viewed in terms of a "diachronic time space of cultural re-enactment" instead of just a synchronic situation of using distinct language systems simultaneously (Busch 2012: 8) and is therefore not a static construction but is rather realised through situational communicative interaction with others (Busch 2012: 16).

In sum, the linguistic repertoire offers a view of multilingual speech that understands languages and codes in relation to each other and not as separate bounded entities; meanings are also seen as linked to a speaker's personal life trajectory; and there is room to allow for a physical element of language embodiment within the repertoire based on the ways in which the speaker uses each linguistic code in the communicative spaces of his/her everyday life (Busch 2012: 18). The linguistic repertoire is therefore an ever-evolving structure that is created in and through social interaction on both a cognitive and an emotional level (Busch 2012: 19).

3.2.4. Metrolingualism

Yet another idea that contests the traditional notion of multilingualism is that of "metrolingualism" which views multilingual speech as creative linguistic practices that take place across cultural, historical and political borders (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 240). The work of the researchers quoted in this section is based on ethnographic studies including participant observation and interviews. Both of these methods are suitable for metrolingualism research due to the fact that they allow for the direct observation of language use in social contexts, hence supporting the notion of metrolingualism as being the "product of modern and often urban interaction" involving the negotiation of identities through language, where the focus is largely on social context instead of language systems (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 240). However, the metrolingualism approach does still allow for the co-existence of both fixed and fluid language practices, as the view is that fixity and fluidity are not dichotomous, but rather that they work together and symbolically reconstitute each other (Otsuji &

Pennycook 2010: 244). This assumption is based on the idea that language is a social construct that draws on local knowledge and emotional attachment (both of which are fluid) as well as formal linguistic systems (which tend to be seen as more fixed concepts) (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 241). Metrolingualism can further be seen to undermine the traditional monolingualism/multilingualism dichotomy that has been widely preferred in earlier work on multilingual speech, as it is seen as a "practice of undoing, as both a rejection of ortholinguistic practices and a production of new possibilities" (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247). This means that metrolingualism is a process or a performance rather than just a theory, and that this process involves breaking down the accepted conventional (orthodox) linguistic boundaries and rules in favour of a newer more liberal set of rules. As such, from a metrolingual perspective the focus is on language use in time and space instead of on languages as separate countable entities (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247).

The main difference that should be made salient with regard to multilingualism and metrolingualism is that multilingualism does not allow for mobility or fluidity in language use due to being based either on the pluralisation of languages as entities or on hybridization of language systems; whereas metrolingualism accommodates both fixity and fluidity in language use by largely disregarding the notion of languages as separate bounded entities (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 252).

3.2.5. Multi-competence

The use of the term "multi-competence" has important consequences for much of the existing research on multilingualism and also presents challenges to the traditional notion of multilingualism. Multi-competence, as mentioned in section 3.1, is "a complex mental state including the L1 and the L2 interlanguage, but excluding the L2", and can also be expressed as "the compound state of a mind with two grammars" (Cook 2008: 17). However, it is important to note that the idea of multi-competence is not restricted to grammar or syntax, and as such is perhaps better defined as "knowledge of two languages in one mind" (Cook 2008: 17) hence taking the focus away from grammar and focusing instead on

knowledge of multiple language systems. An important distinction to make between the focus of multilingualism and that of multi-competence is that multilingualism has tended to described speakers in relation to an L1 native-speaker level of the L2, which is largely unattainable, whereas multi-competence places more importance on the level of competence in the L2 in and of itself instead of aiming for native-like proficiency (Cook 2008: 18). This means that from a multi-competence perspective, L2 users are never regarded as deficient in comparison with native speakers but rather as a different kind of language user in their own right (Cook 2008: 19). Multi-competence is also to be seen as a combination of both the social and the psychological aspects of language, which are indispensable to each other due to the fact that language use always occurs in a social context (Cook 2008: 19).

Multi-competence is essentially based on the idea that the L1 in the mind of an L2 user is not at all the same as that same L1 in the mind of a monolingual native speaker, and that as such L2 speakers cannot and should not be held up to native-like standards. Thus, the concept of multi-competence was borne largely out of findings and implications from research following a contrastive analysis-type method in which multilingualism and monolingualism are differentiated in terms of interferences found when two language systems within the same mind contain small, yet crucial, differences (Cook 2008: 20). In terms of the mental lexicon, it is assumed under the idea of multi-competence that multilingual speakers have different lexicons for both the L1 and the L2 compared with the L1 lexicon of monolingual native speakers and that this necessarily means that the L1 grammar of an L2 speaker no longer resembles the L1 grammar of a monolingual native speaker of that L1 (Cook 2008: 24). There are a variety of other areas in which differences between multilingual and monolingual speakers can be pointed out (for example pragmatics, phonology and syntax). However, a discussion of these goes beyond what is necessary here; what is important with regard to the multi-competence view of multilingual speech is that it provides a new starting point for research into multilingualism, namely from the perspective of the L2 user as a language user in their own right instead of a focus on closeness to native-like proficiency, which has been the focus of most traditional multilingualism research (Cook 2008: 26).

3.3. African Multilingualism

This section deals with multilingualism as found in African contexts. The first important note to make when dealing with multilingualism in an African context is that it is not merely a mirror of the multilingual situations to be found in Europe or the United States. Most, if not all, research done on multilingualism to date has been situated within an American or European context, where the research essentially deals with "multiple monolingualisms", that is communities that are "made up of distinctive monolingual enclaves" where multilingual speakers speak a variety of unrelated languages (Banda 2009: 2). The African context, on the other hand, tends to offer a more truly multilingual context[4] in that many of the languages spoken "have existed side by side for significant periods of time" and are in fact closely related to each other (Banda 2009: 2). The distinction between these language environments and contexts is important, as disregarding it has lead to the erroneous appropriation and adaptation of Western knowledge and terminology into the African context.

Another facet of African multilingualism is that most speakers' linguistic repertoires contain more than one 'mothertongue' or first language (L1) and that switching between more than one language in everyday conversations is in fact the norm rather than the exception in Africa (Banda 2009: 5). This can be illustrated by the fact that in the current urbanized and diasporic nature of African society, a person's linguistic repertoire cannot be defined purely on the basis of the speaker's ethnicity or home language, but rather through looking at the multilingual contexts within which the speaker interacts on a daily basis (Banda 2009: 8). In other words, linguistic boundaries in Africa are not defined by geographical boundaries as is most often the case in European or American contexts, but are instead more fluid and mobile, with factors such as urbanization and multiculturalism coming into play and allowing for "cross-border language practices" and the expression of "spatial identities exhibited through multiple

[4] What is meant by saying that the African context is more truly multilingual than European or American contexts, is that while there may be a large variety of different languages spoken in these other contexts (for example in New York, USA), the Western Cape is home to a larger percentage of multilingual speakers than is to be found in "Western" contexts.

languages" (Banda 2009: 9). This situation is very different to what one would find in a European or American context, where there are distinct language boundaries that for the most part coincide with geographical borders, and where speakers do not necessarily have more than one 'mothertongue' (Banda 2009: 5). However, it is important to note that this situation is changing and that the American and European contexts are indeed becoming more fluid and stratified both culturally and linguistically. This change has led to the borrowing of the term 'super-diversity' from sociology in recent multilingualism research, in order to explain these new phenomena. 'Super-diversity' can be characterised as a multi-dimensional perspective on diversity, which encompasses the interplay of various factors[5] that have emerged due to increases in migration (Vertovec 2007: 1025-6). Super-diversity aside, differences can still be observed between African contexts and American or European contexts, as has been alluded to above, in that many of the African languages are in fact inter-related dialects of each other all belonging to the Bantu language family, whereas the different languages one would find spoken in Europe for example are largely unrelated and not mutually intelligible (Banda 2009: 5). To take the distinction between Africa and the West further, it must also be noted that in European and American contexts multilingualism is often the result of being taught a second or third language at school, whereas in Africa it is very common for the second or third language to be acquired in more natural contexts such as at home or among peer groups (Banda 2009: 5). Taking Banda's arguments further, Oostendorp (2012: 395) acknowledges the differences between Western and African multilingualism and highlights the importance of studying multilingualism in an African context. Oostendorp points out the general absence of multilingualism research in African and Asian countries, as well as the lack of any African languages in the data that has been dealt with in previous studies (2012: 395). She further goes on to say that the current terminology used in multilingualism research (such as 'length of stay' and 'proficiency and use of both languages') cannot be so easily transferred into research in an African context due to the existence of a different kind of language contact situation in Africa (Oostendorp 2012: 395).

[5] Factors of 'super-diversity' include: country of origin, migration channels, legal status, human capital (i.e. education background), access to employment, spatial locality, transnationalism, and responses by local authorities, residents and service providers. See Vertovec (2007) for further discussion.

A related issue is the idea of 'additive multilingualism', which is the notion of adding a language(s) to a monolingual speaker's linguistic repertoire once he/she is already proficient in the first language and the first language continues to develop (Banda 2009: 5). Here, an important contrast to make is between additive and subtractive multilingualism, where subtractive multilingualism describes "situations in which a new language is learned and replaces the first language" (Cenoz 2013: 6). Both additive and subtractive multilingualism are prevalent in an African context due to the language of schooling not always being the same as the language(s) spoken in the home, whereas in the Western context it is more likely to find additive multilingualism due to additional languages being learned in a school environment rather than a home environment.

It is important to realize that there are always exceptions to the 'rules' laid out in this section and that the differences mentioned are not absolutely concrete, but merely trends that need to be taken into account in any study that deals with multilingualism. This being said, the present study takes the newer ways of thinking about multilingualism discussed in this chapter into account, using them to illustrate and explain the unique linguistic diversity and fluidity of the Western Cape context. Conducting this study in an African context (including a variety of African, Asian, and European languages in the sample) adds to the overall scope of the field of multilingualism research and shows that the more traditional ways of thinking about multilingualism no longer hold true, thus forcing us to reconsider the methodology and terminology currently being used in this field.

3.4. Emotions and Multilingualism

The study of emotions and multilingualism can be, and indeed has been, approached from various different perspectives. Most of the research has been conducted from the psycholinguistic perspective, while a smaller body of research exists on emotions and multilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective. In this section I present an overview of some previous research on emotions and multilingualism that has been conducted from a psycholinguistic perspective, and in section 3.5 I will discuss research of a sociolinguistic nature.

3.4.1. Psycholinguistic Perspectives

Studies done from a psycholinguistic perspective on multilingualism and emotion have made use of a number of different methodological tools, including measurements of skin conductance responses, Stroop tasks, and the repetition blindness effect to name a few. Harris, Aycicegi and Gleason (2003) took a psychophysiological approach to the issue of language emotionality perceptions, using skin conductance responses (SCRs) to determine which language elicited greater autonomic arousal and anxiety for a group of bilingual Turkish-English speakers. Many other previous studies have used SCRs to measure language emotionality in monolingual speakers, revealing that taboo words and emotions words elicit greater SCRs than do neutral words (Harris et al 2003: 562). However, Harris et al aimed to investigate whether this also holds true in a multilingual context, hypothesizing that "words in an L1 have greater emotional resonance than words in an L2" (Harris et al 2003: 563). Participants for this study were a group of 32 L1 Turkish speakers living in the United States, all of whom were late L2 English learners. The SCRs of each participant were measured via fingertip electrodes while the participant read a variety of word types (including neutral, taboo, positive, aversive and reprimands) in both Turkish and English that were presented on a computer screen or else played as audio clips. The findings of the study showed that, although there was high reactivity to taboo words in both languages, "SCR amplitudes were higher in Turkish than in English and that amplitudes differed for words types" (Harris et al 2003: 569). Comparing the results for different words types between the two languages, it was found that reprimands and taboo words both elicited higher SRCs in Turkish than in English (Harris et al 2003: 569). In addition to having their SCRs monitored, participants were asked to rate each of the words they were presented with in terms of familiarity and pleasantness. Taboo words tended to elicit higher SCRs, but participants rated them as lower in familiarity, hence it was concluded that SCR is not influenced by language familiarity (Harris et al 2003: 571). In terms of childhood reprimands, participants also showed greater SCRs in their L1 Turkish than in the L2 English, which the researchers attribute to the fact that "early language co-develops with emotional regulation

systems" (Harris et al 2003: 572). This can be seen as confirmation for the Emotional Contexts of Learning Theory discussed earlier in section 2.2.

Building on a psychophysiological methodology, Eilola and Havelka (2010) combined the use of SCRs with the emotional and taboo Stroop tasks to investigate the emotional responses to taboo words. Participants for the study consisted of two groups, the first a group of 39 native speakers of English, and the second a group of 33 Greek-English bilingual speakers (Eilola & Havelka 2010: 361). The items for the Stroop task consisted of four lists of 20 English words all selected according to their emotional content; the same lists of words were used for both the native and the non-native groups (Eilola & Havelka 2010: 361). The researchers hypothesised that "native speakers may show higher levels of skin conductance in response to emotionally charged words when compared to non-native speakers", and the results of the study confirmed this hypothesis although not as conclusively as was expected (Eilola & Havelka 2010: 365). It was also found that positive and neutral words did not differ in terms of their SCR levels between the two groups, and that even the difference between the SCRs for negative and taboo words for the two groups was not in fact very significant, therefore suggesting that "words implying threat influence attentional processes to the same extent in L1 and L2" (Eilola & Havelka 2010: 365). The conclusions drawn from this study were that bilingual speakers automatically access the semantics of emotional words in their L2 just as quickly as they do in their L1 despite different contexts of learning, but that this still does not lead to similar levels of autonomic arousal in both languages; hence supporting previous findings stating that bilinguals perceive their L2 to be less emotional than their L1 due to the "reduced physiological response associated with that language" (Eilola & Havelka 2010: 367).

Knickerbocker & Altarriba (2011) investigated the role of experience, memory and sociolinguistic factors by focusing on the repetition blindness effect on emotions across languages in multilingual contexts, using the rapid serial visual presentation (RSVP) procedure as a way of eliciting data. The RSVP procedure entails presenting participants with word stimuli for extremely short periods of time, usually interspersed with distractor stimuli which are not relevant to the

target words, and the aim is to see if there are differences in the cognitive processing of the repeated words in relation to non-repeated words (Knickerbocker & Altarriba 2011: 464). The repetition blindness effect is based on the assumption that, in a sentence that contains repeated words the repetitions of those words may be overlooked, or at the very least recalled less accurately than non-repeated words within the same sentence (Knickerbocker & Altarriba 2011: 465). Using the RSVP methodology, Knickerbocker & Altarriba investigated the repetition blindness effect in a group of 32 Spanish-English bilinguals from the State University of New York, incorporating different language conditions as well as different types of emotion words into their experimental stimuli. The idea was to identify any possible differences in the recall of repeated versus unrepeated words with different levels of emotional arousal (i.e. emotion words, emotion-laden words, and neutral words). The results of the experiment showed that accurate recall of emotionally weighted words was higher than for neutral words in the unrepeated condition, but that in the repeated condition neutral words showed the higher level of recall accuracy, hence resulting in a larger repetition blindness effect (Knickerbocker & Altarriba 2011: 467). Further, it was observed that overall the English stimuli showed a clear pattern of repetition blindness (with the repetition blindness effect getting stronger as the level of emotional arousal increased), while the Spanish stimuli did not show such clear patterns (Knickerbocker & Altarriba 2011: 471). What the researchers concluded from these results was that bilinguals process and experience emotional words differently in each of their languages; a finding which they attribute to the role of language dominance and frequency of use for each of the languages spoken (Knickerbocker & Altarriba 2011: 473). The findings of this paper thus support those of many other papers that have investigated cognitive processing and emotional interpretation of language, by suggesting that differences in patterns of language use and language dominance "can lead to different memory structures and associations which will influence the processing of language" (Knickerbocker & Altarriba 2011: 474).

Collectively, this selection of psycholinguistic studies on emotion and multilingualism show that, while the L1 generally seems to be intrinsically linked to higher levels of autonomic and emotional arousal, there is also a case to be

made for the role of different word types (for example taboo words versus neutral words) as well as other external influences in the study of emotion in multilingual contexts. This specific selection of studies is therefore relevant to the present study as one of the central arguments of this study deals with the relative importance of both psycho- and sociolinguistic factors in emotional language use patterns, which is clearly reflected in the abovementioned selection of studies.

3.4.2. Sociolinguistic Perspectives

In this section the work of Dewaele (2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2011) and Pavlenko (2006a) will be discussed in some detail, since the questionnaire and methods used in this thesis are closely modelled on the work these two researchers have done over a number of years.

Dewaele (2004a) makes use of a web-based questionnaire on bilingualism and emotions (a modified version of which I use in the present study: see Appendix A) to determine which factors affect self-reported language preferences for swearing among multilingual speakers. A total of 1039 responses to the questionnaire were collected and results showed that the dominant language was most frequently the preferred choice for swearing, and that factors such as "mixed instruction, an early start in the learning process, and frequent use of a language all contribute to the choice of that language for swearing" (Dewaele 2004a: 83). Analysis of the data also showed that swearwords in the L1 were generally felt to have a greater emotional force than those in the L2 and any other languages acquired subsequently (Dewaele 2004a: 94). Dewaele concluded that the language choices of multilingual speakers for swearing are "determined by several independent variables, all related to the individual's linguistic history" and that socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, class etc. do not seem to have much of an effect (Dewaele 2004a: 101). These findings support Dewaele's hypotheses that the L1 or the dominant language will be the preferred language for swearing, and also that languages learned in naturalistic or mixed contexts will be favoured for swearing over languages learned in more formal contexts (Dewaele 2004a: 102). The results also to some extent support the age-related hypothesis that speakers who began learning the L2 at a younger age

would use that language more frequently for swearing (Dewaele 2004a: 102). By including some more open-ended questions in his questionnaire, Dewaele was able to ascertain that although the dominant language was generally the preferred language for swearing, some multilinguals reported consciously deciding to swear in their weaker language in order to "soften the illocutionary force or to escape social conventions" that prevent them from using swearwords or taboo terms in their L1" (Dewaele 2004a: 102). Another possible explanation that Dewaele put forward in the analysis of the data was that there may be a point at which a speaker "develops the correct perception of the emotional force" of swearwords in their L2 and hence feels that he/she is "close enough to the in-group to dare using these powerful words" (Dewaele 2004a: 102). This can be seen as proof of the effects of linguistic socialization, which was discussed above in section 3.3.

Dewaele (2011) aimed to investigate whether self-perceived maximal proficiency in more than one language would eradicate the differences in language preferences for speech acts such as swearing or the use of taboo terms. Data for this study were collected by means of the same web-based questionnaire mentioned above, to which 386 bi- and multilingual speakers responded; and the findings from the questionnaire responses were supplemented with interview data collected from a group of 20 maximally proficient bi- and multilingual speakers selected from the group of questionnaire respondents (Dewaele 2011: 34). Results showed "a significant preference for the L1 in self-reported language choice for communicating feelings" and also for swearing (Dewaele 2011: 35). It was also found that the perception of emotional force of swearwords was higher in the L1 than in the L2 and that even though the participants were all maximally proficient in both the L1 and the L2, they claimed to be significantly less anxious when using the L1 as opposed to the L2 or any subsequently learned languages (Dewaele 2011: 38). In sum, the main finding that was drawn from the questionnaire responses was that "even self-reported maximally proficient and frequent users of an L2 do not use their L2 to the same extent as their L1, and do not perceive the L2 in the same way as the L1" (Dewaele 2011: 38). The analysis of the interview data also shed some light on the perceptions of and preferences for the speakers' different languages. Most interviewees agreed that they

preferred the L1 for communicating emotions, however, those who had been extensively socialized in the L2 culture, and hence had less contact with the L1, felt that their L2 had taken on the more emotional role due to the contexts in which they used it (Dewaele 2011: 45). This is again in line with the affective socialization theory discussed earlier and also suggests that the context of language acquisition and use both play important roles in determining the multilingual speakers' language preferences for various different speech acts (Dewaele 2011: 47).

Dewaele's (2004b) study was also based on data collected via the web-questionnaire mentioned above to which 1039 multilingual speakers responded. The aim of the study was to investigate whether the perceived emotional force of swearwords and taboo words is similar across all languages that a given multilingual knows, and the focus was on the effects of gender, context of acquisition, age of acquisition, and self-rated proficiency in each of the languages known (Dewaele 2004b: 209). Based on the findings of previous research, Dewaele made the following hypotheses: firstly that the perceived emotional force of swearwords and taboo words would be highest in the L1 and gradually lower in all subsequent languages learned; secondly that socio-demographic factors such as age, gender and level of education might play a role in the perception of emotional force; thirdly that the perceived emotional force attached to the L1 would weaken in cases where the L1 was no longer the dominant language; fourthly that languages learned in formal instructed environments would be perceived as less emotional than those learned naturalistically; and lastly that factors such as early age of onset of acquisition, high levels of proficiency and frequent use of the language would lead to a strong perception of emotional force in that language (Dewaele 2004b: 212). Statistical analysis of the questionnaire responses revealed that emotional force is indeed perceived to be highest in the L1 and lower in each subsequent language learned, and that in the case of the L1 no longer being the dominant language, the emotional force of swearwords and taboo words does in fact decrease (Dewaele 2004b: 204). It was also found that context of acquisition played a role in that speakers who had learned a language in an instructed environment perceived that language to be less emotional than the language(s) they had learned in more natural

environments (Dewaele 2004b: 204), which is in line with hypothesis four mentioned above. In sum, the results of the study showed that there are a variety of sociolinguistic factors that affect the perception of emotional force, such as context and age of acquisition, frequency of use, proficiency etc. and that socio-demographic factors such as age, gender and level of education do not have such a strong effect (Dewaele 2004b: 219).

Dewaele (2006) investigated the effects of L2 socialization on language preferences for the expression of anger. The study is based on the assumption that "anger, a neurologically based emotion, originates in social interaction and that its expression is shaped by a wide variety of cultural, linguistic, and individual variables" (Dewaele 2006: 126). Again the data was drawn from responses to the web-based questionnaire on bilingualism and emotion that has been mentioned in relation to the other Dewaele studies (2004a; 2004b; 2006; 2011) discussed in his section. The aim of this study was to determine whether L2 socialization can in some way affect language preferences for expressing anger, or whether the L1 always remains the preferred language for anger (Dewaele 2006: 127). Statistical analysis of the responses to the questionnaire showed that a language other than the L1 "can become the preferred language for anger expression, once emotion repertoires and scripts have been acquired in the process of language socialization" (Dewaele 2006: 143). There were also similar findings with respect to context of acquisition and self-rated proficiency, as participants who had learned a language in an instructed environment were less likely to use that language for expressing anger (Dewaele 2006: 143) and those who rated their L2 proficiency levels as high were more likely to use that language to express anger (Dewaele 2006: 144).

Pavlenko (2006a) aims to ascertain whether or not multilingual speakers feel that they become different people depending on which of their languages they are using and, if so, to find possible explanations for this perception of different selves. This study again made use of the same web-based questionnaire as was discussed with regard to the Dewaele studies above, and a total of 1039 responses were collected. The results suggested that there are four main sources to which the perception of different selves can be attributed: linguistic and cultural

differences, distinct learning contexts, different levels of language emotionality, and different levels of language proficiency (Pavlenko 2006a: 10). In terms of cultural and linguistic differences, it was found that speakers felt each of their languages to have a distinct cultural perspective and repertoire attached to them, and thus the speaker would exhibit different personality traits depending on which language was being used (Pavlenko 2006a: 11). With regard to learning contexts, it was found that speakers who live in multilingual contexts and switch between more than one language on a daily basis have a "less acute perception of linguistic and cultural boundaries" (Pavlenko 2006a: 18) thus enabling them to switch between different language selves with greater ease than those who live in more monolingual contexts. Lastly, with regard to language emotionality and proficiency, it was found that speakers tend to equate their L1 with their 'natural self' and their L2 with a more 'performative' or even 'fake' self (Pavlenko 2006a: 18). This could be attributed to the lower proficiency levels in the L2 which would thus require the speaker to expend more conscious effort in order to fully express themselves in that language, hence resulting in the L2 persona feeling less authentic than the L1 persona.

Besemeres (2004) has a slightly different focus to that of both Pavlenko and Dewaele, in that she draws her data from bilingual life narratives and literature. Besemeres (2004: 140) examines the ways in which "memoirs and novels of bilingual experience approach questions of cultural difference in emotion". Drawing her data from a selection of memoirs, autobiographical fiction and personal essays by a number of contemporary multilingual writers, Besemeres focuses on "forms of emotional expression that do not readily translate between their two languages" and finds that "different languages make possible distinct emotional styles, which engage different parts of a bilingual's self" (2004: 140). Besemeres looks specifically at how these writers treat the role of emotions in their own lives or the lives of their protagonists through linguistic forms such as diminutives or interjections, as well as considering the translatability (and associated difficulties) of emotion concepts across different lingua-cultural barriers (Besemeres 2004: 141). She concludes that emotional vocabulary shapes the speaker's feelings and that the specific emotion concepts available to speakers of a given language play a significant role in dictating how the speaker interprets,

experiences and acts upon a given emotional event (Besemeres 2004: 156). Another important finding in this paper is that exposure to different cultures (for example when immigrating to another country) can lead the speaker to reconsider their views on emotions or feelings that they once assumed to be purely personal but now discover are actually largely dependant on diverse cultural practices and not just on language (Besemeres 2004: 157).

3.5. Factors Affecting Emotions and Multilingualism

Many studies have been conducted to ascertain which factors contribute to the language choices and perceptions of multilingual speakers, specifically in the case of emotional language use. Findings from such studies suggest that the perceived emotional force that a given language carries for a given speaker is affected by a wide variety of factors including age of acquisition, context of acquisition, personal histories and linguistic trajectories, language dominance, word types, and language proficiency, to name but a few. Other sociolinguistic factors that have previously been found to affect emotional language choices notably include age and context of acquisition.

3.5.1. Age and Context of Acquisition

In terms of the effects of age of acquisition, it is commonly believed that languages learned earlier are more emotionally salient than those learned later in life due to the processes involved in affective socialization and language embodiment (Pavlenko 2005: 185). Context of acquisition is also linked to the question of age in that studies have shown the emotionality of childhood reprimands, terms of endearment and taboo terms to be higher in languages acquired in childhood contexts, not solely due to age but also due to the fact that childhood coincides with the emotional contexts of linguistic and affective socialization (Pavlenko 2005: 185). In this regard studies have shown that emotion words, and particularly taboo and swearwords, in the L2 may not be perceived as highly emotional due to the fact that they are "rarely integrated with emotional and autobiographic memory" and therefore do not hold strong affective and sensory representations (Pavlenko 2006b: 157). This could explain

why many participants in previous studies have reported that they find it easier to swear in a language other than their L1, as they perceive swearwords and taboo terms to be stronger in their L1 than in subsequent languages learned (Pavlenko 2006b: 157). For other studies showing similar results, see for example Harris et al (2003) and Dewaele (2004a; 2004b).

3.5.2. Personal and Linguistic Trajectories

The notion of personal and linguistic trajectories is closely linked to the effects of age and context of acquisition discussed above, as it places emphasis on the role of context in certain life events which make up the personal trajectory of a given speaker. Previous research investigating the role of linguistic socialization has in fact shown that "bilinguals' life experiences in each of their languages are closely tied to the manner in which they feel *emotion* in their different languages", finding that it was common for a given speaker to avoid using a certain language and even to reject that language entirely, in cases where the speaker had suffered a traumatic event in that specific language (Bonnici 2009: 61). Other studies that have produced similar results include Besemeres (2004; 2011) and Kinginger (2004).

3.5.3. Language Dominance and Proficiency

Language dominance and proficiency are often seen as going hand in hand, however there is an important caveat to this position: where proficiency is measured in terms of fluency, pronunciation, vocabulary and other such factors, dominance is usually defined in terms of frequency of use and the speaker's self-reported levels of comfort communicating in that language. As such, a speaker may perceive his/her dominant language to be the more emotionally charged language due to the fact that he/she uses it in a wider variety of contexts, even if he/she is actually more proficient in a different language (Pavlenko 2005: 186). Different word types may also carry different emotional weight and hence influence speakers' language choices in certain situations. For example, many studies that focused on taboo and swearwords have shown that the emotional force of these words is usually perceived to be highest in the speaker's L1. It

should also be noted though, that in cases where the L1 is no longer the dominant language, taboo and swearwords in a language other than the L1 may then take on greater emotional force (Knickerbocker & Altarriba 2011: 463).

3.5.4. Affective Performance, Repertoires and Personae

Three related concepts regarding the socio-interactional communication of affect can be seen as influencing emotive-language choices in multilingual contexts: 'affective performance', 'affective repertoires' and 'affective personae'. 'Affective performance', which is synonymous with emotion expression or emotive language use, comprises two main parts, which are intrinsically linked and work together in the performance of emotion: affective repertoires and affective personae. The affective repertoire is a feature of situated language use, where emotion categories have two main functions: to inform the interlocutor of the speaker's affective or emotional state, and to perform the interactional function of conveying the speaker's emotions (Pavlenko 2005: 116). Affective personae are linked to the affective repertoire in that we as speakers can present ourselves as different personae or characters depending on the context in which the interaction takes place (Pavlenko 2005: 117). For example, this means that in one context a speaker may be soft-spoken and polite, while in another context that same speaker may be loud and brash. The different affective personae that speakers take on are governed by factors on three different levels: the linguistic level, the group level, and the individual level (Pavlenko 2005: 117). At the linguistic level, there are differences between languages and cultures in terms of how they encode and express emotion and therefore languages may encode the same emotion in very different ways, or not even have equivalent emotion concepts (Pavlenko 2005: 117). On the group level, there may be differences between speakers of the same language who belong to different social groups (defined by race, gender, class, age, and other sociolinguistic factors) in the style and register used to express emotion (Pavlenko 2005: 117). And lastly, on the individual level, speakers may differ in terms of their interpretations of certain affective styles and registers despite belonging to the same linguistic and cultural background (Pavlenko 2005: 117). In sum, the affective personae that speakers may adopt and switch between in affective performance are based on the

functions of the speaker's affective repertoire and are mediated through various factors on the level of language and inter-group relations.

The discussion up to now has focused on describing the concept of 'affect' and how it functions in discourse. I will now consider the ways in which 'affect' is actually indexed linguistically, that is, on the level of the utterance itself. 'Affect' can be indexed on the lexical level through the use of emotion words, emotion-laden words, taboo words, swearwords, and exclamations etc. all of which were discussed earlier in section 2.1. It can also be indexed on the level of morphosyntax through pronoun choice, relative clauses, tense, aspect and mood (Pavlenko 2005: 119). On the level of speech acts, affect can be indexed through direct or indirect expression, and on a narrative level it can be indexed descriptively through the use of reported speech or direct speech, as well as sentence length and the level of detail given in descriptions (Pavlenko 2005: 120-21). What can be seen from the above list of rhetorical devices, which is by no means an exhaustive list, is that indexing affect in a conversation is not just a case of using emotion words or concepts, but rather a case of manipulating these different devices in order to perform the desired emotive function in an interaction (Pavlenko 2005: 122). In other words, the expression of emotion in an interaction is always a *performance* on some level, making the labels 'affective performance', 'repertoire' and 'personae' rather apt. This also means that it is not just a case of a speaker having to learn the emotion words or lexical labels for emotions in his/her language; the speaker must more importantly learn to manipulate the different rhetorical devices available to him/her in order to convey and perform emotion (Pavlenko 2005: 124).

What can be seen from the discussions of the various factors affecting multilingual speakers' language choices and perceived emotionality is that most of these factors are inter-related and work together, and hence there is never one simple explanation as to why a certain speaker uses a specific language in a given situation or why they feel the way they do about each of the languages they speak. The studies discussed above in section 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 all seem to agree on the fact that, in general, the L1 is the language of attachment and emotion, while the L2 (and any other languages learned) are less emotionally laden.

However, it was shown that a variety of factors, both sociolinguistic and psychophysiological, are involved in determining the emotionality of a multilingual speaker's various languages; as such the findings of the studies discussed, while useful in the development of hypotheses and research questions for the present study, should not be taken as irrefutable facts that pertain to any and all multilingual speakers. This is especially important to keep in mind with regard to the different contexts in which previous studies have taken place and in which the present study is conducted: participants for the studies discussed in this section were all drawn from Europe and the United States, whereas participants for the present study were drawn from the Western Cape, which as discussed earlier is a much more truly multilingual context and may therefore present different contexts of use and different language perceptions and attitudes. As will be seen in the subsequent sections which report the findings of the present study, there are just about as many applications of and explanations for the language and emotion theories discussed up to this point as there are different languages spoken by the world's multilingual population.

Chapter 4
Research Methodology

The remaining chapters are dedicated to reporting the present study. As such, this chapter first briefly restates the research questions and hypotheses to be investigated (these were presented in Chapter 1, but are restated here for ease of reference). This is then followed by a description of the data collection instrument as well as the participants, and finally an explanation of the methods of data analysis.

4.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses

As stated in Chapter 1, the aim of this study is to identify the sociolinguistic factors affecting the language use patterns of multilingual speakers in the Western Cape, focusing specifically on emotional situations and cases of affective expression. The main research questions that this study aims to answer are (i) which factors affect the language choices and patterns of use of multilingual speakers in the Western Cape and (ii) of these factors, which play the most influential role?

Based on previous research findings, the following hypotheses are proposed:

1) That the sociolinguistic factors may have a greater effect than the socio-demographic factors on patterns of language choice among multilingual speakers.
2) That there may be differences in the factors that affect language choices with respect to speakers of Western languages versus speakers of Non-Western (i.e. African) languages.

4.2. Data Collection Instrument

Data for the present study was collected through a web-based questionnaire (see Appendix A) which was made available online for six months. This questionnaire

is a modified version of the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire used by Dewaele & Pavlenko in their various studies on multilingualism and emotions already mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3 above (for a complete version of this original questionnaire, see Appendix A in Pavlenko 2005: 247-256). The questionnaire used in this study largely comprises the same questions as those found in the original version used by Dewaele & Pavlenko; However, I modified many of the questions by adding in an extra option (labelled *"I use more than one language in this situation"*) in the answer choices so that participants were not restricted to selecting only one language for each situation. This was done because, as already stated, the Western Cape where the present study was conducted is a much more truly multilingual context than the American and European contexts in which the original version of the questionnaire was used. This also follows on Banda's (2009) assertion that it is a commonplace phenomenon in African contexts for individuals to have more than one L1. New theoretical perspectives on multilingualism such as heteroglossia and multi-competence (see Chapter 3 for a comprehensive discussion) were also taken into account. Since language boundaries in the Western Cape are much more fluid than in many other areas, it was presumed that restricting the participants to selecting only one language in each situation would not yield a true reflection of the multilingual language practices being studied here.

The survey was created and hosted on the *SurveyMonkey* website and the link was sent out via email and Facebook to recruit participants, drawing responses from students and staff at the University of Cape Town, Stellenbosch University, Cape Peninsula University of Technology, employees at companies such as Media24 and Towers Watson, the Latin Connection Spanish School in Cape Town, and the Alliance Française in Stellenbosch as well as members of the general public. The questionnaire comprised 39 questions in total, with an optional extra question at the end asking for any comments or suggestions the participants might have. The first part of the questionnaire elicited background information on the participants' demographics, while the second part asked questions about the participants' linguistic background. The third part of the questionnaire comprised multiple-choice Likert scale questions that elicited information about language usage and language choices in various situations, with particular emphasis on emotional

language use. The fourth and final part of the questionnaire posed slightly more open-ended questions about emotional perceptions and language choice, giving space for the participants to justify their answers, thus eliciting more qualitative information in addition to the quantitative information that the rest of the questionnaire yielded.

There are a few limitations on using a web-based questionnaire, which should be addressed here. Firstly, data could only be drawn from participants who had access to the Internet and thus it was not as widely distributed as it perhaps could have been. Although, on the other hand, the web-based nature of the questionnaire could be seen as allowing for a wider distribution than would have been possible if the researcher went around in person finding participants, as there are no logistical limitations on a web-based questionnaire other than needing Internet access, which at least half of the Western Cape's population do in fact have. This being said, another limitation of the web-based format was that it specifically required *computer access* to fill out the questionnaire, which could have had an effect on which socio-economic classes were able to participate (many people access the internet via mobile phones or tablets, for which a special app is needed to access the *SurveyMonkey* website where the questionnaire was hosted). Another related factor that must be taken into account is the fact that a certain degree of computer literacy was required in order to be able to fill out the questionnaire, which could have excluded certain potential participants. Given that the questionnaire was web-based, it relied on the self-selection and willingness of participants who were not necessarily specifically chosen by the researcher. This resulted in the data being somewhat skewed in terms of gender, race, and language groups, with the majority of participants being white females with English and Afrikaans as their L1 or L2. It also meant that there was no way to ensure that all participants answered all the questions, and as will be discussed below there were a number of incomplete responses turned in, which presented difficulties in the analysis of the whole sample and were thus discarded. Another limitation of the questionnaire being in web-based and multiple-choice format is that there was not much opportunity for participants to explain their answers fully (except in the few slightly more open-ended questions included in the last section of the questionnaire). As such, the data analysis is based almost entirely on

quantitative data, even though the questions all ask for self-reported perceptions and opinions.

4.3. Participants

Although the only criteria for participants were that they should be at least bilingual and should be residents of the Western Cape, it was hoped that there would be considerable variation in factors such as age, gender, level of education, and languages spoken. Thus, there was no limit set on the number of participants to be included. *Figures 1* and *2* below illustrate some of the basic demographic information pertaining to the 170 participants included in the analysis, and to all 199 participants who responded to the questionnaire, respectively, and also show the distribution between language groups based on the speakers' L1, which will become more relevant in the presentation and discussion of results.

A total of 199 participants responded to the questionnaire, of whom 112 are female (56.28%) and 87 are male (43.72%). Ages range from 15 to 78 years old, with the average age being 35. The distribution across racial categories is as follows: 45.23% of the participants are White, 33.17% Black, 15.08% Coloured, 4.52% Asian, and 2.01% classify themselves as Other[6]. Overall, the participants are well educated, with 39.70% having a postgraduate university degree and 33.67% an undergraduate degree. Some of the participants did not fill in their languages (and are therefore among the incomplete respondents who were omitted from the analysis), however, 87.94% of the total participants claimed to be functionally bilingual, i.e. to use more than one language on a daily basis. 90.95% of participants are bilingual (again this is not 100% due to the fact that some participants did not fill in any languages), 47.74% trilingual, 25.63% quadrilingual, and 9.55% pentalingual. In terms of language dominance, 87.50% of L1 speakers list the L1 as a dominant language, while 44.20% of L2 speakers list the L2 as dominant, 17.89% of L3 speakers list the L3, 7.84% of L4 speakers

[6] Ethnic classification was left open to participant interpretation, as they could choose to label themselves White (of European descent), Black (of African descent), Coloured (with mixed ancestral heritage), Asian (of Indo-Chinese descent), or Other (indicating that the participant did not feel they belonged to any of the ethnic classifications listed). Ethnicity was included in the questionnaire purely in order to gain a more detailed picture of the socio-demographic profile of the participants.

list the L4, and 21.05% of L5 speakers list the L5 as being among their dominant languages. Here it is also important to note that each participant could select more than one language as being dominant, so the percentages here will add up to more than 100% due to these repeated measures. A total of 49 languages are included in the sample; these are (in alphabetical order): Afrikaans, Arabic, Catalán, Chichewa, Croatian, Dutch, English, Fang, French, German, Greek, Gujarathi, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Kikongo, Kimbala, Kurdish, Latin, Lingala, Malay, Malagasy, Mandarin Chinese, Ndebele, Ngemba, Norwegian, Norwegian Sign Language, Pedi, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Shanghainese, Shona, Sotho, Spanish, Swahili, Swati, Swedish, Tamil, Tshangana, Tsonga, Tswana, Upper Ngemba, Venda, Xhosa, Yoruba and Zulu. Among these languages, those most commonly spoken include English (spoken by 91.46% of participants), Afrikaans (65.83%), Xhosa (20.60%), Zulu (12.56%), French (16.58%), German (11.06%) and Shona (5.53%).

As noted above, 199 responses were collected in total, but some of these responses were incomplete and are thus not included in the analysis. Thus, the total number of participants included is 170, of which 43.53% are male and 56.47% female. The age range remains the same as given above (15-78 years), and the average age is still 35. The distribution of ethnicity changes slightly in this group, and is now split evenly between white and non-white, as 50.00% are White, 30.59% Black, 13.53% Coloured, 4,12% Asian, and 1.76% Other. Overall the level of education for this selection of the sample is slightly higher than for the total sample, with 42.35% holding a postgraduate university degree and 31.18% an undergraduate degree. All participants know at least two languages and 88.24% claim to be functionally bilingual, that is, they use more than one language on a daily basis. 100.00% of participants are bilingual, 52.94% trilingual, 28.82% quadrilingual, and 10.59% pentalingual. In terms of language dominance, 88.82% of L1 speakers list the L1 as a dominant language, while 44.38% of L2 speakers list the L2 as dominant, 16.67% of L3 speakers list the L3, 8.16% of L4 speakers list the L4, and 16.67% of L5 speakers list the L5 as being among their dominant languages. Again it should be noted that there are repeated measures here, as participants were able to select more than one language as being dominant. The languages included in this sample are the same as those listed

above in relation to the whole sample, only excluding Malagasy, therefore there are now 48 languages spoken in total. Those languages most commonly spoken are also the same as what was listed above in relation to the whole sample, just with slightly different distribution: English (spoken by 100%), Afrikaans (74.12%), Xhosa (21.76%), Zulu (13.53%), French (18.24%), German (12.94%) and Shona (6.47%).

Figure 1:

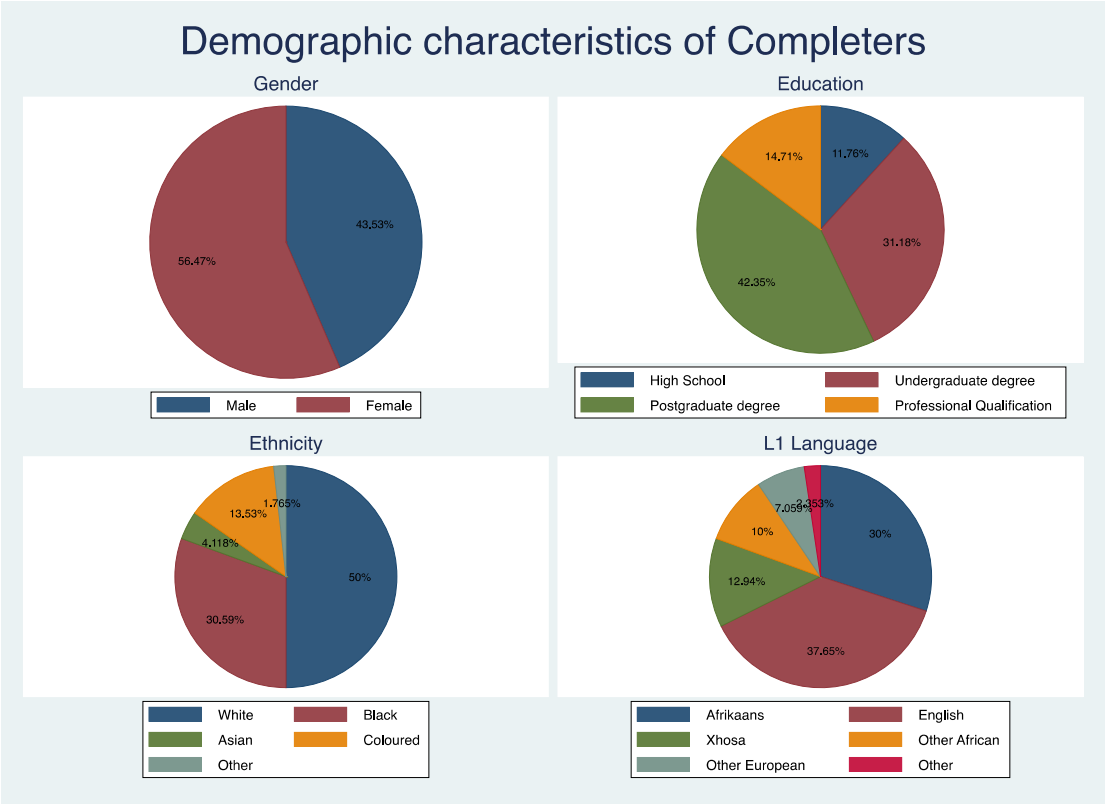
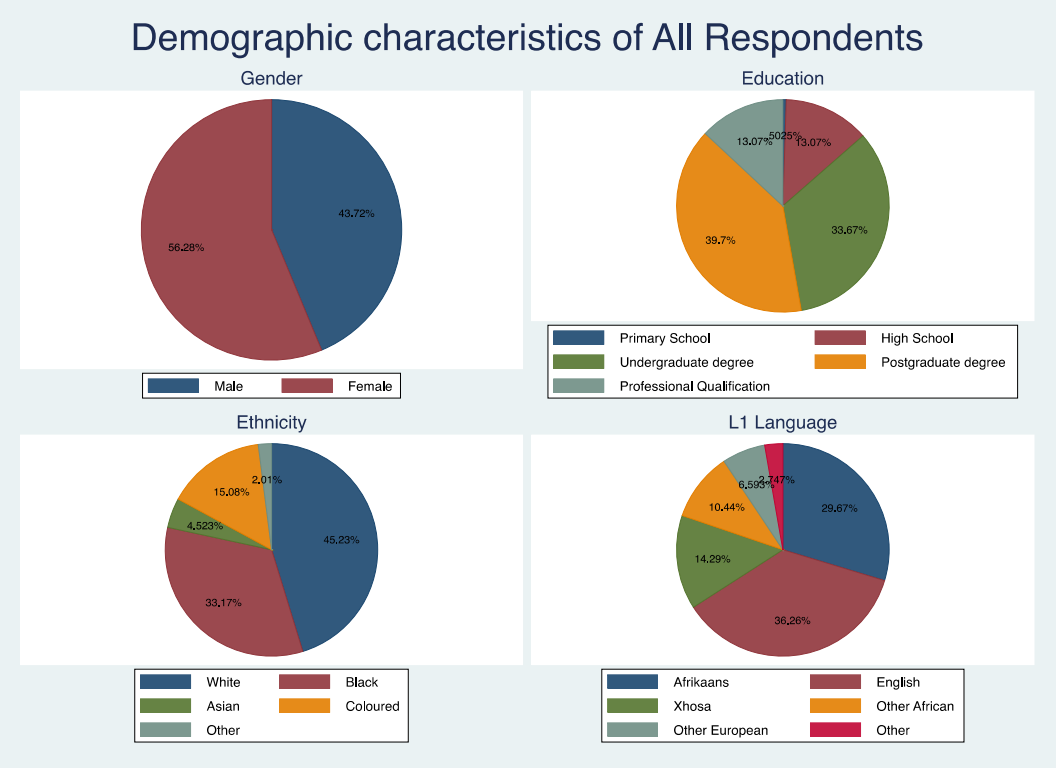


Figure 2:



As can be seen from the descriptions and the graphical illustrations of the total sample of 199 participants compared to the sample of 170 participants that was included in the present study, there is relatively little change to the overall demographics of the participants, with the only differences worth noting being as follows: firstly, the group of 170 complete responses upon which the analysis will be based has a slightly higher level of education (42.35% holding a postgraduate degree, in comparison to only 39.70% when the whole group is taken into consideration); and secondly, in terms of racial diversity, when taking the whole sample into account there is an uneven distribution between white and non-white participants (45.23% being white and 54.77% non-white), while when only considering the complete responses the distribution is equal (50.00 % being white and the other 50.00% non-white). These differences are small, and thus they should not lead to any bias in the results; however, given that the incomplete responses included cases where vital information (for example: actual languages spoken, as well as which language is considered dominant) was not provided, these respondents are disregarded in the analysis in order to facilitate a more accurate analysis.

4.4. Method of Analysis

The quantitative analysis of the data was split into two broad sections as follows: Firstly correlations were drawn between the different languages in the sample in terms of order, environment and age of acquisition, as well as dominance, ethnicity, gender, and education using two- and three-dimensional frequency tables. Given that one of the main aims of the study is to determine whether there are differences between speakers of Western and Non-Western languages, the many languages included in the sample were divided into six language groups: English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Other European, Other African, and Other (i.e. Eastern/Asian languages). These language groupings are illustrated above in *Figure 1*, and will be given more attention in the presentation of results in Chapter 5. Secondly, the association between the different language groups, their order of acquisition and the many language use variables included in the questionnaire were explored using Correspondence Analysis.

In considering how to go about analysing the data, it was necessary to take into account the fact that for many of the questions included in the questionnaire the participants were given the option of selecting multiple answers (this was done to allow for variation and to avoid restricting participants to staying within language boundaries by being forced to select only one language for each given situation). These multiple responses, or repeated measures, meant that the method chosen for the analysis had to allow for *simultaneous associations* between each language in the sample and the many variables for language use that the questionnaire dealt with; as such, the statistical method of Correspondence Analysis was chosen as the best way of coping with the multiplicity of variables and repeated measures in the data.

Correspondence Analysis is a statistical technique that allows for the graphical representation of the structure and relationships between multivariate sets of categories (Yelland 2010: 1). It can be seen as an easier way of representing and interpreting the information contained in a multi-dimensional frequency table, as it provides a graphical illustration, which therefore eliminates the need for very

large tables of numbers in which it can be difficult to see patterns of association between the rows and columns (Durbach 2014: 14). The function of Correspondence Analysis is thus to represent variables or categories of variables as co-ordinate points on a graph or correspondence plot, where the distance/closeness between those points corresponds to the difference/similarity between the variables they represent (Yelland 2010: 8) – the 'variables' here being the rows and columns of a frequency table. The mapping of these variables as co-ordinate points on a graph or plot actually represents a highly multi-dimensional space, as it simultaneously takes into account relationships between and within numerous variables, and as such the variables need to be narrowed down or categorized to avoid over-complicating the illustration of associations (Yelland 2010: 9). The number of dimensions needed to fully represent a given data set can be calculated by taking the number of rows or columns in the frequency table (whichever of these is the lower number) and subtracting 1 from this total (for more detail on this see Glynn 2012: 162). It is obviously not practical to try to represent all the dimensions of the data set in visual format, as one could be dealing with a very large number of dimensions, depending on how many variables are in the data set, hence it is necessary to narrow down the number of variables represented by grouping them together into subsets or eliminating minority variables that do not play a significant role in the outcome of the analysis (Glynn 2012: 142). This reduction of the highly multi-dimensional space into a two- or three-dimensional space can be achieved through a process of *singular value decomposition*, which is essentially the creation of broad structural variables or categories by adding up the Likert scale scores for each individual variable (Yelland 2010: 10). In the case of Multiple Correspondence Analysis, this folding of the many different variables or dimensions into only two or three dimensions is common practice, as it can facilitate the accurate representation and interpretation of a large high-dimensional data set (Durbach 2014: 19).

For the purposes of this analysis, the questions included in the questionnaire were divided into three broad groups or categories: (i) Proficiency (which included scores for speaking, understanding, reading and writing, as well as frequency of language use, frequency of code-switching, and anxiety levels when using each language); (ii) Language Use (including scores for mental calculations, inner

speech, feelings, anger, swearing, love, terms of endearment, memories, identity, and emotional significance); and (iii) Language Perception (including scores for rating each language as useful, colourful, rich, poetic, emotional and cold).
These variable groups were simultaneously cross-tabulated against language group and order of acquisition. Several correspondence analysis plots were generated to represent the associations contained in these high-dimensional tables between language group and order of acquisition with the outcomes measuring different aspects of proficiency, language use and language perception. The singular value decomposition method described above was used in order to allow for the illustration of these many associations in only two dimensions. This allowed me to use as much of the information drawn from the questionnaire as possible without the analysis becoming too disjointed and broad, and also allowed for a limitation of the number of associations and statistical tests to be done, therefore facilitating the interpretation of the data.

As noted above, the questionnaire did include some more open-ended questions and room for comments from the participants that were initially intended to be used for a supplementary qualitative side of the analysis. However, these questions did not yield enough responses or sufficient detail to do anything significant with, so the analysis in this paper is done from a purely quantitative perspective. In addition to this omission of the qualitative data in the analysis, the questions regarding language use with children were also omitted from the analysis due to the fact that the majority of participants did not in fact have children or chose not to answer those questions, and therefore the information gathered was again not substantial enough to incorporate into the analysis.

The analysis, while strictly quantitative in nature, should not be taken as revealing absolute concrete findings and results, but rather as an exploratory study illustrating general patterns of language use found among the participants in the sample. This is due to the fact that correspondence analysis is more useful as an exploratory tool for "unearthing patterns in the data" than as a way of establishing 100% concrete results; and it should thus also be noted that, to a large extent, the patterns of use observed in the analysis can only really be regarded as reflective of the *specific sample group* that the study attracted, and not necessarily as reflective

of the general language usage patterns in the Western Cape as a whole (see Glynn 2012: 134 for a discussion of the limitations and nature of the correspondence analysis method).

Chapter 5
Results

This chapter presents the results from the statistical analysis of the data. As was mentioned in Chapter 4, the analysis reported on here was done using only the 170 complete questionnaire responses. First, section 5.1 deals with the descriptive side of the analysis, and then section 5.2 deals with the correspondence analysis, starting with a note on how correspondence plots can be interpreted, and then moving on to the actual presentation of results.

5.1. Descriptive Associations: Languages and Selected Variables

As a first step in the data analysis, a number of descriptive associations are presented, illustrating the different language groups in the sample in terms of the following variables: order of acquisition, context/environment of acquisition, age of acquisition, dominance, proficiency, ethnic group, and education level. This is done in order to give a clearer picture of the type of socio-linguistic population group being dealt with in the present study. The use of the language groups instead of using each individual language is intended as a way of limiting the number of necessary tabulations to be done, and also as a preliminary way of ascertaining whether or not differences exist between speakers of Western languages versus speakers of Non-Western languages, which was a central hypothesis of this study. As has been stated before, the following six language groupings were created: English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Other African, Other European, and Other.

5.1.1. Order of Acquisition

Order of language acquisition for the sample can be illustrated in two ways: Firstly *Table 1* (see Appendix B) shows each individual language from the sample correlated with its place in the order of acquisition, i.e. whether it was listed as an L1, L2, L3, L4 or L5. There are 22 different L1s, followed by 18 languages spoken as an L2, 21 languages spoken as an L3, 20 as an L4, and

finally 11 L5s. By far the most commonly spoken L1s were English (37.65% of L1s), Afrikaans (30.00% of L1s) and Xhosa (12.94% of L1s).

Secondly, *Table 2* shows the same correlation but this time done using the six broad language groups into which the sample was divided. This is helpful in giving an overall picture of the sociolinguistic sample being dealt with, and shows that, apart from English, Afrikaans and Xhosa (which have been discussed above), overall the next most common language category was Other European languages (16.53%), followed by Other African languages (13.31%) and then Other languages (3.02%). The table shows that 30% of L1s were Afrikaans, 37,65% of L1s were English and 12.94% of L1s were Xhosa. The most common L2 was English and the most common L3 was Xhosa. From this observation, it can be concluded that the sample was predominantly Afrikaans-English or English-Afrikaans speaking in terms of their L1/L2 combinations, with other languages mainly tending to be acquired as the L3, L4 or L5.

Table 2: Order of Acquisition by Language Groups

	Language Group						
L	**Afrikaans**	**English**	**Xhosa**	**Other African**	**Other European**	**Other**	Total
1	51	64	22	17	12	4	170
	30.00	37.65	12.94	10.00	7.06	2.35	100.00
2	50	90	4	11	13	2	170
	29.41	52.94	2.35	6.47	7.65	1.18	100.00
3	12	13	7	20	31	7	90
	13.33	14.44	7.78	22.22	34.44	7.78	100.00
4	12	1	2	13	19	2	49
	24.49	2.04	4.08	26.53	38.78	4.08	100.00
5	1	2	2	5	7	0	17
	5.88	11.76	11.76	29.41	41.18	0.00	100.00
Total	126	170	37	66	82	15	496
	25.40	34.27	7.46	13.31	16.53	3.02	100.00

5.1.2. Context of Acquisition

The context, or environment, of acquisition for each language is illustrated below in *Table 3*, showing the correlation between the order of acquisition (L1-L5) and the environment in which the language was learned (either at school, at home, both school and home, or among peers). This shows that the L1 and the L2 were mainly learned at both school and home (L1=65.68% and L2=46.11%), while the L3 to L5 were mainly learned at school (L3=49.44%, L4=55.32% and L5=56.25%). The peer group context, when selected, was most often selected as the context of acquisition for the L3 (25.84%) and L4 (27.66%), and never as the context for the L1.

Table 3: Environment by Order of Acquisition

	ENVIRONMENT				
L	**School**	**Home**	**Both School &Home**	**Peer group**	Total
1	7	51	111	0	169
	4.14	30.18	65.68	0.00	100.00
2	63	18	77	9	167
	37.72	10.78	46.11	5.39	100.00
3	44	8	14	23	89
	49.44	8.99	15.73	25.84	100.00
4	26	5	3	13	47
	55.32	10.64	6.38	27.66	100.00
5	9	0	1	6	16
	56.25	0.00	6.25	37.50	100.00
Total	149	82	206	51	488
	30.53	16.80	42.21	10.45	100.00

5.1.3. Age of Acquisition

Table 4 below shows in which age group participants learned each of their languages, from L1 to L5. As is to be expected, the general trend is that the L1 and L2 were both mainly acquired between the ages of 0 and 6 years old (L1=97.65% and L2=49.40%). The L3 was also generally acquired at a relatively early age, although mostly between the ages of 13 and 18 years (35.96%). Participants who spoke an L4 or L5 tended to only acquire those languages much later, mostly from age 19 onwards. However, it can be concluded that overall the sample was highly multilingual, and for the most part from a very early age.

Table 4: Age of Acquisition by Order of Acquisition

L	AGE_OF_ACQUISITION 0-6 years	7-12 years	13-18 years	19 years &older	Total
1	166	3	1	0	170
	97.65	1.76	0.59	0.00	100.00
2	82	73	8	3	166
	49.40	43.98	4.82	1.81	100.00
3	15	22	32	20	89
	16.85	24.72	35.96	22.47	100.00
4	3	12	10	23	48
	6.25	25.00	20.83	47.92	100.00
5	2	1	3	10	16
	12.50	6.25	18.75	62.50	100.00
Total	268	111	54	56	489
	54.81	22.70	11.04	11.45	100.00

5.1.4. Language Dominance

Language dominance is analysed in several ways. Firstly, *Table 5* shows the correlation between dominance and language group and shows that 44.80% of the participants in the Afrikaans language group (i.e. participants who spoke

Afrikaans, regardless of its place in their order of acquisition) indicated Afrikaans as being a dominant language, 75.15% of the English group indicated English as dominant, and 51.35% of the Xhosa group indicated Xhosa as a dominant language. The other three language groups (i.e. Other African, Other European, and Other) were more commonly indicated as non-dominant languages. This reiterates what was seen earlier in section 5.1.1, where it was observed that English, Afrikaans and Xhosa were the three most commonly spoken L1s – given that dominance is very often associated with the L1 rather than later learned languages, this result is to be expected.

Table 5: Dominance by Language Groups

	DOMINANT		
Lgroup	**No**	**Yes**	Total*
Afrikaans	69	56	125
	55.20	44.80	100.00
English	42	127	169
	24.85	75.15	100.00
Xhosa	18	19	37
	48.65	51.35	100.00
Other African	44	22	66
	66.67	33.33	100.00
Other European	63	19	82
	76.83	23.17	100.00
Other	12	5	17
	70.59	29.41	100.00
Total*	248	248	496
	50.00	50.00	100.00

*Note: The table includes multiple languages per respondent

The discussion of *Table 5* above only gives an idea of which language groups in general were indicated as dominant, and does not shed light on whether it was the L1 or any of the later learned languages that were considered dominant. As such,

Table 6 now shows language dominance in terms of the correlation between language group and order of acquisition. The most striking result here is that the L1 was by far the most common language to be indicated as dominant (88.82% of all L1s were indicated as dominant). Here it is important to note that participants were allowed to select more than one language as being dominant, so it is not to say that these participants were L1-dominant only, as many of them did in fact select more than one option, and hence the percentages reported here incorporate repeated measures and add up to more than 100%. However, this still does confirm the results from *Table 5* that showed that the language groups indicated as most dominant were also the language groups most often indicated as being the L1.

When considering the languages in terms of their position as *the L1*, it is interesting to note that L1 Xhosa was only indicated as dominant by 11.26% of the total respondents, while L1 Afrikaans was considered dominant by 30.46%, and L1 English was considered dominant by 41.72% of the total respondents. With regard to English in general, the table also shows that English was considered by many respondents to be dominant even as a second (67.11%) or third (73.33%) acquired language. This was then further investigated, by tabulating the language dominance for only the Xhosa L1 speakers, which revealed that while 77.27% of Xhosa L1 speakers indicated Xhosa as one of their dominant languages, a fairly high percentage of L1 Xhosa speakers (68.18%) also considered themselves to be dominant in English.

Table 6: Dominance in terms of Language Group and Order of Acquisition

Lgroup	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	Total
Afrikaans	30.46%	13.16%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	22.58%
English	41.72%	67.11%	73.33%	0.00%	100.00%	51.21%
Xhosa	11.26%	2.63%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	7.66%
Other African	7.95%	7.89%	13.33%	50.00%	0.00%	8.87%
Other European	7.28%	6.58%	6.67%	50.00%	0.00%	7.66%
Other	1.32%	2.63%	6.67%	0.00%	0.00%	2.02%
Percentage of L1 languages indicated as dominant	88.82%	44.71%	16.67%	8.16%	11.76%	50.00%
Total # dominant languages	151	76	15	4	2	248
Total # respondents	170	170	90	49	17	496

Table 7 shows language dominance in terms of the correlation between language group and ethnicity. This shows that, within the White ethnic group, the dominant languages tended to be English (68.24%), Afrikaans (51.76%), and Other European languages (14.12%). Within the Black ethnic group the dominant languages were English (80.77%), Other African languages (42.31%), Xhosa (36.54%), and Other European languages (11.54%) – the Other European languages spoken by the Black ethnic group mainly referred to French-speaking African participants, so this could be construed either as an African language or as European, but for the purposes of creating easily definable languages groups, French was included only in the Other European category. Within the Asian ethnic group, all participants selected English as dominant, and in addition to this 14.29% of them indicated they were also dominant in Other languages (which included Eastern languages, as is to be expected with regard to the Asian group). Within the Coloured ethnic group, the dominant languages were English (82.61%) and Afrikaans (47.83%). Within the last remaining ethnicity category (i.e. Other), the most commonly indicated dominant language was again English (40.00%), and for the rest of the group it was split evenly with 20.00% each indicating Afrikaans, Other European languages, and Other languages, and the only language groups not indicated as dominant for this ethnic group were Xhosa and Other African languages.

Table 7: Dominance in terms of Language Group and Ethnicity

Lgroup	**White**	**Black**	**Asian**	**Coloured**	**Other**	Total
Afrikaans	51.76%	0.00%	0.00%	47.83%	20.00%	32.94%
English	68.24%	80.77%	100.00%	82.61%	40.00%	75.29%
Xhosa	0.00%	36.54%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	11.18%
Other African	0.00%	42.31%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	12.94%
Other European	14.12%	11.54%	0.00%	0.00%	20.00%	11.18%
Other	1.18%	1.92%	14.29%	0.00%	20.00%	2.94%
Total # Languages	115	90	8	30	5	248
Total # respondents	85	52	7	23	3	170

Lastly, *Table 8* shows dominance in terms of the correlation between language group and education. Here it was observed that English was indicated as a dominant language by the majority of respondents, regardless of their level of education. The other two languages most commonly indicated as being dominant were Afrikaans and Xhosa. About one third of all respondents indicated that Afrikaans was one of their dominant languages; however, this was restricted mainly to the lower education levels, as only 24.00% of participants who hold a professional qualification indicated Afrikaans as a dominant language. The majority of respondents who indicated Xhosa as a dominant language had either an undergraduate or postgraduate degree, while 15.28% of respondents with a postgraduate qualification and 24% of respondents with a professional qualification indicated Other European languages as dominant.

Table 8: Dominance in terms of Language Group and Education Level

Lgroup	**High School**	**Undergrad**	**Postgrad**	**Professional Qualification**	Total
Afrikaans	35.00%	33.96%	34.72%	24.00%	32.94%
English	75.00%	73.58%	75.00%	76.00%	74.71%
Xhosa	15.00%	18.87%	8.33%	0.00%	11.18%
Other African	0.00%	16.98%	15.28%	8.00%	12.94%
Other European	0.00%	3.77%	15.28%	24.00%	11.18%
Other	5.00%	1.89%	2.78%	4.00%	2.94%
Total # Languages	26	79	109	34	248
Total # respondents	20	53	72	25	170

5.1.5. Proficiency

Language proficiency was measured in three separate categories: Speaking, Understanding, and Reading/Writing. The scores of these three categories were each separately correlated with order of language acquisition, as can be seen in *Tables 9, 10* and *11*. As is to be expected, the general trend was for proficiency scores in each of the three categories to be highest for the L1 and lower in each subsequent language from L2 down to L5. In order to get a better picture of overall proficiency levels, the scores for each of these three proficiency variables

were combined into one total proficiency score using singular value decomposition methods, and this overall proficiency score was then correlated with order of acquisition, language group, as well as both order and language group simultaneously. This summation of the three proficiency categories into one average score was possible due to the lack of variation between the three different proficiency categories pointed out in each of *Tables 9, 10* and *11* below which meant the information would not be skewed by combining the three scores, as participants did not seem to differentiate between their proficiency levels for each of the three categories of speaking, understanding, and reading/writing.

Table 9: Proficiency Score (Speaking) by Order of Acquisition

Speaking						
L	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	Total
1	3	2	5	18	142	170
	1.76	1.18	2.94	10.59	83.53	100.00
2	7	10	33	44	73	167
	4.19	5.99	19.76	26.35	43.71	100.00
3	19	20	22	14	15	90
	21.11	22.22	24.44	15.56	16.67	100.00
4	9	15	12	9	3	48
	18.75	31.25	25.00	18.75	6.25	100.00
5	6	4	2	2	3	17
	35.29	23.53	11.76	11.76	17.65	100.00
Total	44	51	74	87	236	492
	8.94	10.37	15.04	17.68	47.97	100.00

Table 10: Proficiency Score (Understanding) by Order of Acquisition

Understanding						
L	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	Total
1	2	1	2	21	144	170
	1.18	0.59	1.18	12.35	84.71	100.00
2	3	6	24	42	92	167
	1.80	3.59	14.37	25.15	55.09	100.00

3	9	20	20	21	17	90
	10.00	22.22	25.56	23.33	18.89	100.00
4	4	15	13	12	5	49
	8.16	30.61	26.53	24.49	10.20	100.00
5	5	4	2	3	3	17
	29.41	23.53	11.76	17.65	17.65	100.00
Total	23	46	64	99	261	493
	4.67	9.33	12.98	20.08	52.94	100.00

Table 11: Proficiency Score (Reading/Writing) by Order of Acquisition

Reading and Writing						
L	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	Total
1	2	6	7	17	136	168
	1.19	3.57	4.17	10.12	80.95	100.00
2	4	12	32	45	74	167
	2.40	7.19	19.16	26.95	44.31	100.00
3	17	15	29	15	14	90
	18.89	16.67	32.22	16.67	15.56	100.00
4	10	14	14	6	4	48
	20.83	29.17	29.17	12.50	8.33	100.00
5	6	3	5	0	3	17
	35.29	17.65	29.41	0.00	17.65	100.00
Total	39	50	87	83	231	490
	7.96	10.20	17.76	16.94	47.14	100.00

Looking at the proficiency scores in terms of order of acquisition, illustrated in *Figure 3*, it is clear that participants were more proficient in the L1 and L2 than in subsequent languages learned, and that the scores for L3, L4 and L5 were all relatively similar to each other. *Figure 4* shows that English tended to be the most proficient language, with Xhosa not far behind, and with Other European and Other languages having the lowest proficiency scores. *Figure 5* shows a

combination of the above two observations, illustrating the fact that, for all language groups excluding English, the proficiency scores were highest when that language was an L1, and lower as that language moved from L2 down to L5. Interestingly, the English language group deviated from this trend, with overall proficiency in English generally remaining high regardless of the order of acquisition. This could be indicative of the fact that many of the participants for whom Xhosa, or any Other African language was their L1, actually find themselves using English more often on a daily basis, and therefore rate their proficiency in English higher than their proficiency in their L1. This point will be addressed in Chapter 6 when the results are further discussed and interpreted.

Figure 3: Proficiency Score by Order of Acquisition

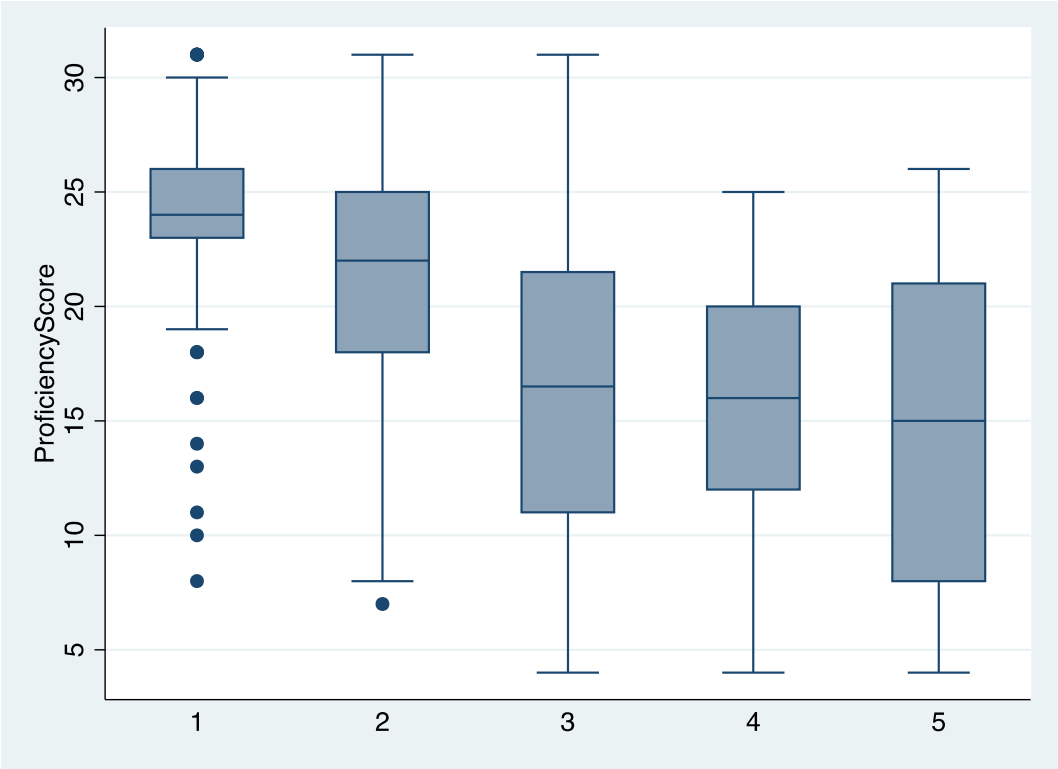


Figure 4: Proficiency Score by Language Groups

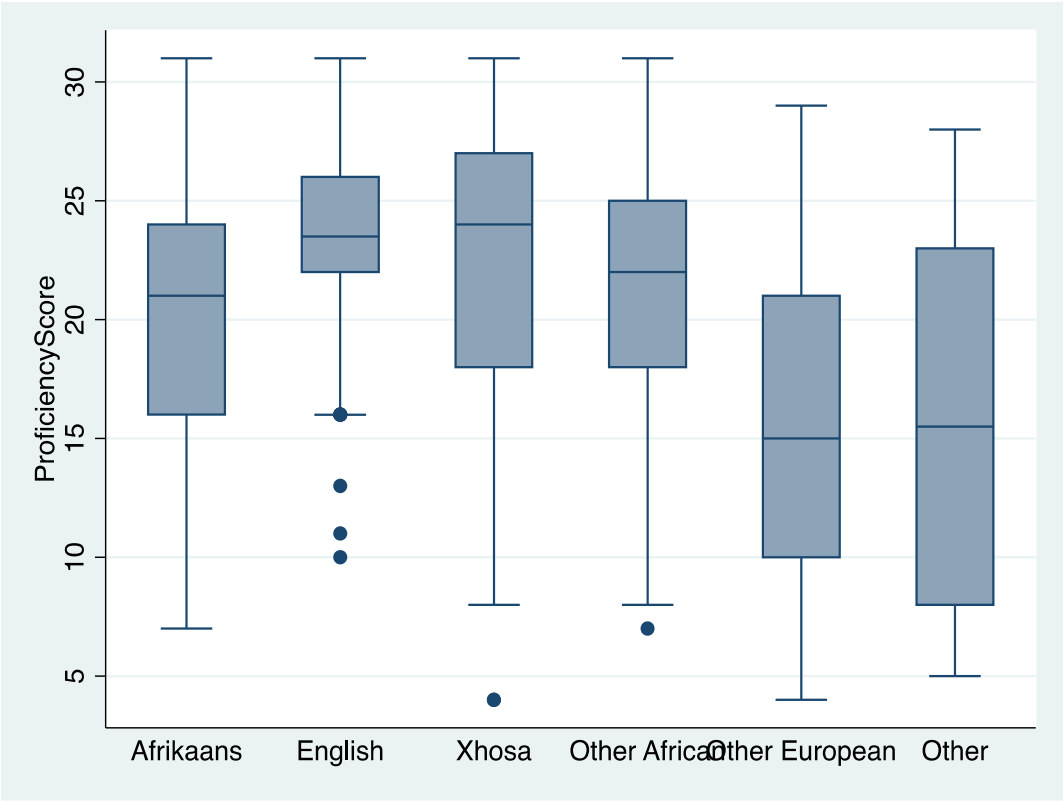
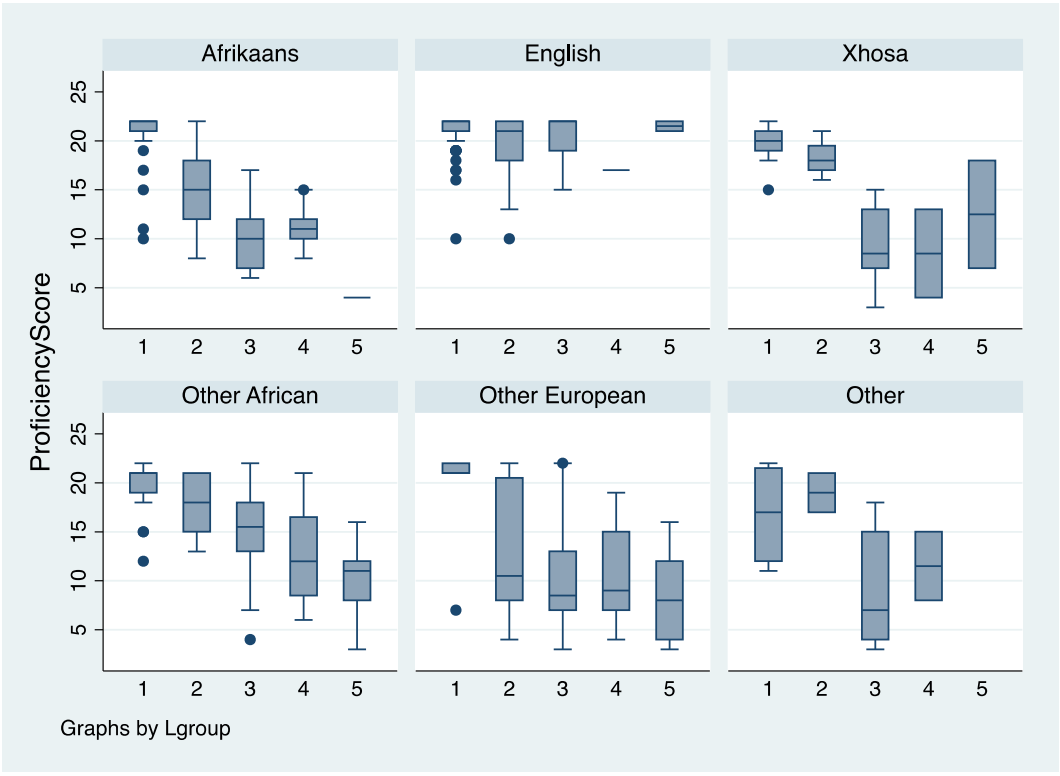


Figure 5: Proficiency Score by Order of Acquisition and Language Groups



5.1.6. Ethnicity

The distribution of participants across ethnic groups is illustrated through correlations between ethnicity and L1 group, ethnicity and L2 group, as well as ethnicity and L1/L2 combinations, hence showing the different languages spoken by different ethnic groups in the Western Cape. Given that the results yielded were a standard illustration of the illusion of a language-ethnicity link that is seemingly prevalent within the South African context as a legacy of racial segregation during Apartheid, the tabulations cannot be interpreted as showing ethnicity in and of itself to be a concrete contributing factor for language choice, and thus will not be presented here. However, it should be noted, for the purposes of sufficiently characterizing and contextualizing the sample group, that the White participants were mainly Afrikaans and English speaking, while the Black participants spoke mainly Xhosa and Other African languages; the Asian participants spoke mainly English, with a small number speaking Other languages including Eastern/Asian languages; and finally, the Coloured participants were mostly English and Afrikaans speaking.

A few clarifying remarks are necessary at this point about the ways in which ethnicity plays out in the current socio-cultural South African context. Firstly, it must be emphasised that it is *not* the intention to suggest that language and ethnicity are necessarily intrinsically linked, despite the uniform patterns of language and ethnicity reflected in the data. It cannot, however, be denied that South Africa does have a history of racial segregation in which identities were constructed and classified according to separate linguistic, social, cultural and geographical boundaries. This policy of segregation led to divisions not only between ethnic groups, but also between language groups, such that each ethnic group had access to education, jobs, and leisure activities only within the boundaries of a given language group that corresponded to their assigned ethnic classification. Thus, it was commonly believed that there exists an intrinsic link between language and ethnicity in South Africa, based purely on the resultant consequences of the Apartheid system (see Walker 2005:51 for further discussion). However, what the results of the present study (as well as recent studies in the fields of ethnicity and education – cf. e.g. Walker, 2005; and

Samara, 2010) show is that one can no longer blindly take this language-ethnicity myth to be true; instead, one now needs to view ethnicity in South Africa as an unstable concept that is constantly transforming and recreating itself in a context of change, even though society still in some respects bears the marks of a racially-segregated past (Walker 2005: 43). In other words, ethnicity can be viewed in terms of the interplay between the legacy of segregated categories in which language and ethnicity were seen as almost inseparable, and the current process of transformation across, and in spite of, these perceived boundaries (Walker 2005: 44). From this perspective, looking at the data from the present study, one can see that even though there is a definite pattern in terms of White participants tending to speak English and Afrikaans and Black participants tending to speak African languages, ethnicity *in and of itself* cannot be seen to play a significant role in determining language choice and patterns of use; instead, ethnicity should be viewed as merely one of a myriad of socio-demographic factors which act in conjunction with each other in the South African social context.

5.1.7. Education

The last of the variables in the descriptive analysis is education, which is illustrated by correlations with L1 group, with L2 group, with L1/L2 combinations, and lastly with the number of languages spoken by each participant.

Table 12 shows that the L1s most commonly spoken by those whose highest level of education was high school were Afrikaans (45.00%), English (35.00%), and Xhosa (20.00%). For those who held undergraduate degrees, the most common L1 was English and Afrikaans (33.96% each), or Xhosa (16.98%). For the postgraduate group, the most common L1 was English (37.50%), Afrikaans (26.39%), and Xhosa and Other African languages (12.50% each). And lastly, among those who held a professional qualification, the most common L1s were English (48.00%), Afrikaans, and Other European languages (both 20.00%).

Table 12: Education by L1 Groups

Lgroup EDUCATION	Afrikaans	English	Xhosa	Other African	Other European	Other	Total
High School	9	7	4	0	0	0	20
	45.00	35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Undergraduate degree	18	18	9	6	1	1	53
	33.96	33.96	16.98	11.32	1.89	1.89	100.00
Postgraduate degree	19	27	9	9	6	2	72
	26.39	37.50	12.50	12.50	8.33	2.78	100.00
Professional Qualification	5	12	0	2	5	1	25
	20.00	48.00	0.00	8.00	20.00	4.00	100.00
Total	51	64	22	17	12	4	170
	30.00	37.65	12.94	10.00	7.06	2.35	100.00

Table 13 shows this same association, but with respect to the L2 instead of the L1. As such, it is observed that the two most commonly spoken L2s among all education levels were English and Afrikaans.

Table 13: Education by L2 Groups

Lgroup EDUCATION	Afrikaans	English	Xhosa	Other African	Other European	Other	Total
High School	6	13	0	1	0	0	20
	30.00	65.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Undergraduate degree	14	30	4	3	1	1	53
	26.42	56.60	7.55	5.66	1.89	1.89	100.00
Postgraduate degree	20	36	0	6	8	2	72
	27.78	50.00	0.00	8.33	11.11	2.78	100.00
Professional Qualification	9	10	0	1	4	1	25
	36.00	40.00	0.00	4.00	16.00	4.00	100.00
Total	49	89	4	11	13	4	170
	28.82	52.35	2.35	6.47	7.65	2.35	100.00

Table 14 shows the different L1/L2 combinations for each education level. Here it is seen that the most common combinations across all education levels are Afrikaans-English and English-Afrikaans, with a relatively large percentage of Xhosa-English speakers in the high school group.

Table 14: Education by L1/L2 Combinations

L1L2	EDUCATION High School	Undergrad	Postgrad	Professional Qualification	Total
Afrikaans English	9	18	19	5	51
	45	33.96	26.39	20	30
English Afrikaans	6	15	20	9	50
	30	28.3	27.78	36	29.41
English Oth.Afr.	1	0	3	1	5
	5	0	4.17	4	2.94
English Oth.Eur	0	0	3	2	5
	0	0	4.17	8	2.94
English Other	0	0	1	0	1
	0	0	1.39	0	0.59
English Xhosa	0	3	0	0	3
	0	5.66	0	0	1.76
Oth.Afr. English	0	3	5	2	10
	0	5.66	6.94	8	5.88
Oth.Afr. Oth.Afr.	0	2	2	0	4
	0	3.77	2.78	0	2.35
Oth.Afr. Oth.Eur	0	0	2	0	2
	0	0	2.78	0	1.18
Oth.Afr. Xhosa	0	1	0	0	1
	0	1.89	0	0	0.59
Oth.Eur English	0	0	4	3	7
	0	0	5.56	12	4.12
Oth.Eur Oth.Afr.	0	0	1	0	1
	0	0	1.39	0	0.59

Oth.Eur Oth.Eur	0	1	1	2	4
	0	1.89	1.39	8	2.35
Other English	0	1	0	0	1
	0	1.89	0	0	0.59
Other Oth.Eur	0	0	2	0	2
	0	0	2.78	0	1.18
Other Other	0	0	0	1	1
	0	0	0	4	0.59
Xhosa English	4	8	9	0	21
	20	15.09	12.5	0	12.35
Xhosa Oth.Afr.	0	1	0	0	1
	0	1.89	0	0	0.59
Total	20	53	72	25	170
	100	100	100	100	100

Lastly, *Table 15* shows the number of languages spoken by each education level group. Here it is observed that at the high school level, most participants spoke only two languages, with a few speaking three, and only four participants in this group speaking a fourth or fifth language. Those participants who fall under the undergraduate and the postgraduate education levels had the highest number of languages, with the vast majority of them speaking up to four languages, and a fair few speaking a fifth language. Among those who hold a professional qualification, none of them spoke a fifth language, although there were a fair few who spoke up to four different languages. This shows that the most highly multilingual groups within the sample were those who held an undergraduate or a postgraduate degree.

Table 15: Education by Number of Languages Spoken

Order of Acquisition **EDUCATION**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	Total
High School	20	20	9	3	1	53
	37.74	37.74	16.98	5.66	1.89	100.00
Undergraduate degree	53	53	23	13	5	147
	36.05	36.05	15.65	8.84	3.40	100.00

Postgraduate degree	72	72	47	29	11	231
	31.17	31.17	20.35	12.55	4.76	100.00
Professional Qualification	25	25	11	4	0	65
	38.46	38.46	16.92	6.15	0.00	100.00
Total	170	170	90	49	17	496
	34.27	34.27	18.15	9.88	3.43	100.00

5.2. Correspondence Analysis: Language Use Patterns and Perceptions

The descriptive data analysis presented up to this point gives a good illustration of the socio-linguistic sample being dealt with in this study, and also sheds some light on what kind of associations may be of interest in the further analysis of the data. This further analysis was done using correspondence analysis techniques, as discussed above in section 4.5. Before presenting the results from the correspondence analysis, however, I first give a brief note on how the correspondence plot can be interpreted. This can be summed up in the form of the following three interpretation rules:

1) *Relative Contribution of Each Dimension:* Firstly, it is important to note that not all of the dimensions represented are of equal importance or weight. That is to say, dimension 1 will give more information than dimension 2, which in turn gives more than dimension 3 etc. (Durbach 2014: 15). The way this is measured is through the *percentage of inertia*, which shows two things – firstly, how much of the overall data/variation is represented in the graphical illustration, and secondly, the relative importance of each dimension in terms of how much of the data is represented by each variable category (Durbach 2014: 15). The higher the percentage of inertia, the greater the variation in the data among the column and row variables (Glynn 2012: 136).
2) *Significance Values:* Each category of variables has a numerical value, which is plotted at the corresponding point on the correspondence plot. The position of these points indicates the significance of the associations that can be drawn between the categories and variables represented, such that the closer together

two points are, and the further from 0.0 they are, the more significant the association is, and hence the more significant to the analysis (Durbach 2014: 20). While there is no real consensus as to how close to 0.0 is 'good enough' to denote significance, it is generally accepted in correspondence analysis that values lying between -0.2 and 0.2 are not significant enough to be included in the associations drawn within the particular dimension in which they are plotted on the correspondence plot (Durbach 2014: 15).

3) *Interpreting Associations based on Distance:* The interpretation of associations between and among variable categories is achieved through the concept of distance or closeness of two points on the correspondence plot. As such, distances between points representing row categories and points representing column categories can show how significant or insignificant the association between these variables is (Durbach 2014: 16). For example, if two points lie close to one another, the association between the variables they represent is significant, while if they lie far away from each other, the association is insignificant or perhaps even non-existent (Durbach 2014: 16). In addition, these distances can be interpreted separately on each dimension, such that one may have a close association between two variables within dimension 1, but that association may become less significant when looking at dimension 2 (Durbach 2014: 16).

As was mentioned earlier in section 4.5, working with such a large set of variables can complicate the analysis and hence make the interpretation of results difficult. One must therefore find the balance between over-simplifying the data by grouping variables together too much, and over-complicating the data by having too many separate variables all illustrated on one correspondence plot. For this reason, as has been mentioned before, the variables for analysis were split into three broad structural categories or sub-sections, each of which are presented separately in sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.3 below. In addition to this grouping of the variables, it was observed in the course of the descriptive analysis done in section 5.1 that a few minority variables could be excluded from further analysis without eliminating important associations or skewing the results; hence, the Other languages group was eliminated, as was the L5 category. This was possible as it was observed that the participants who

fell under the Other languages category comprised such a small sample size that they did not make any significant difference to the outcomes of the analysis and hence only contributed to the over-complication of the correspondence plots. The same was found for the sample size of participants who spoke an L5, and therefore the remaining analysis excludes the L5 and is done only on L1 to L4.

5.2.1. Proficiency

In creating the correspondence analysis plots that are used to illustrate the data in this section of the analysis, the row points (or variables) included L1 –L4 for each of the five language groups used, thus describing the languages and their order of acquisition in terms of their profiles of proficiency; the column points (or variables) included the scores given for proficiency in speaking, understanding, reading and writing for each language group as well as the frequency of use, frequency of code-switching in various situations, and the level of anxiety when using each language, thus describing the languages in terms of participants' proficiency levels over language group and order of acquisition. Only the first two dimensions of each plot are shown, as this facilitates interpretation, and because in general the sum of the percentages of inertia for each of the first two dimension usually shows the majority of the variability in any data set, which makes it unnecessary to show more than two dimensions even when the data set is highly multi-dimensional as this one is (see Glynn 2012: 137 for further explanation).

Figure 6 illustrates the proficiency scores given for each of the five language groups with respect to speaking, understanding, reading/writing, as well as showing frequency of use and the levels of anxiety felt when using each language. The percentage of inertia for the first dimension (represented on the x-axis) is 64.74% and for the second dimension (on the y-axis) is 14.94%, representing a total of 79.68% of the variation in the data, which means the associations illustrated are strong. The first dimension shows lower proficiency scores on the left, moving through to higher proficiency scores on the right. This same pattern is followed for L4 through to L1, thus showing that the L1 was generally associated with the highest proficiency scores, and that later

learned languages were associated with lower proficiency scores. Other European languages are associated with lower proficiency scores when they are not the L1, as can be seen by their proximity to the low proficiency scores in the lower left quadrant of the plot. English is always associated with higher proficiency scores, even when it is not the L1, as can be seen by the fact that English L1, L2 and L3 all lie in close proximity to the higher proficiency scores. It is also interesting to note that, although there were separate categories for proficiency in the questionnaire (namely speaking, understanding, and reading/writing), participants generally did not give different scores for each of these three categories, which can be seen by the fact that these points all lie on top of each other on the plot. This pattern was also picked up in the descriptive analysis in section 5.1.5.

Figure 6: Proficiency Scores in terms of Order of Acquisition

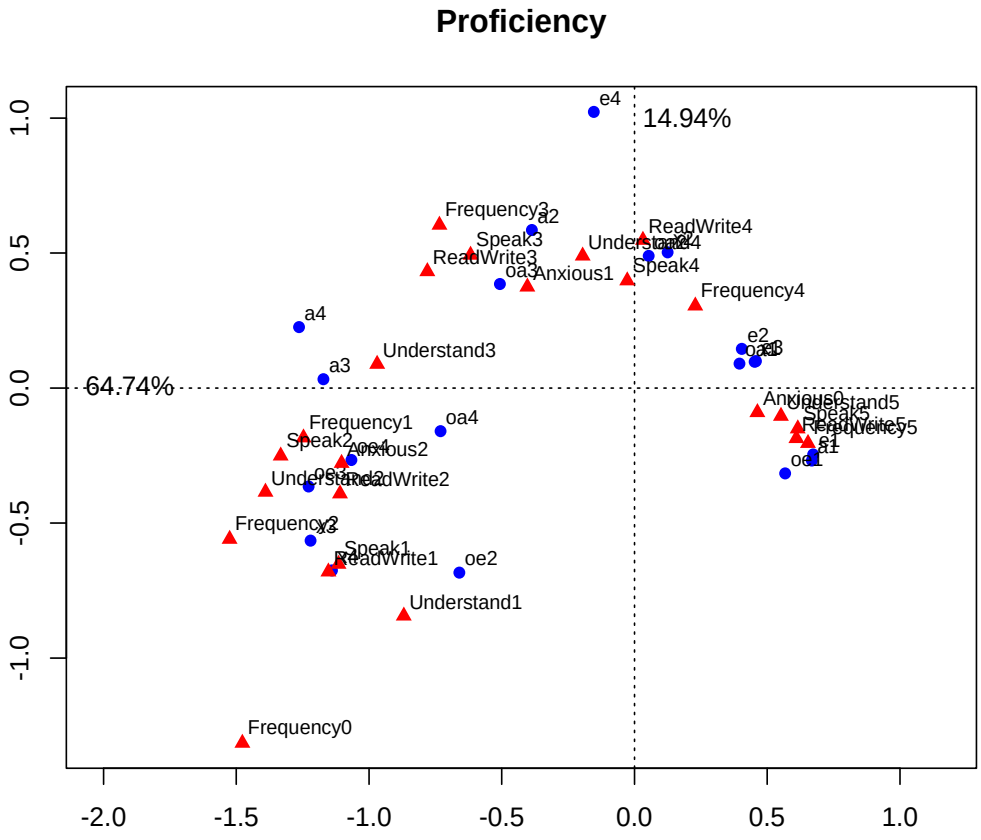
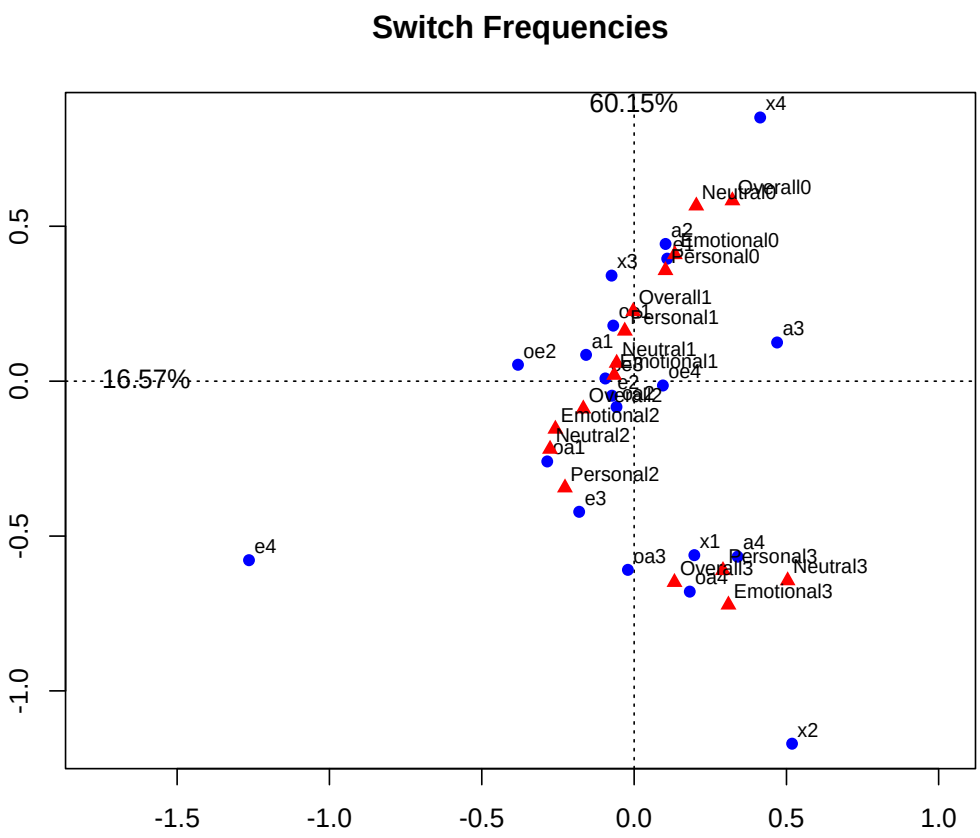


Figure 7 illustrates the frequencies of code-switching for each of the language groups overall and also in a variety of specific situations (namely: neutral, personal, and emotional situations). The percentage of inertia for the first dimension is 60.15% and for the second dimension is 16.57%, giving a strongly representative total of 76.72%. Note here that the orientation of the axes is different to that in the other figures, and the x-axis thus represents the second dimension here, while the y-axis represents the first dimension. Wherever this shift in orientation is used, it is for the purpose of increasing the legibility of the plots, as in some cases where there are many variables very close together it becomes difficult to decipher which variables are being shown and a switch in orientation can help in this regard. Here the first dimension contrasts frequent switching with no switching and also shows that there was no difference between the three situations in terms of frequency of switching, which can be seen by the fact that these points all lie on top of each other in the plot. L1 Xhosa is in close proximity to the higher frequencies of code-switching, where all the other L1s are not as closely associated with high frequencies of code-switching. There is also some indication that participants whose L1 was Afrikaans tended to switch more frequently than those whose L1 was English, as is illustrated by the closer proximity of English L1 to the lower frequencies and of Afrikaans L1 to the higher frequencies. The second dimension in this plot does not show much variation and all that can really be gained from this dimension is that English L4 behaves in opposition to all other languages illustrated; a finding which could be attributable to the small sample size of L4 English speakers in comparison to the larger sample sizes of L1, L2 and L3 English speakers.

Figure 7: Code-Switching Patterns in terms of Order of Acquisition



5.2.2. Language Use

Language use patterns are illustrated in four different correspondence plots: one for the expression of feelings, one for the expression of anger, one that reflects mental activities, and finally one that groups together the more emotive uses and emotional weights**.**

Figure 8 illustrates the associations between each language group and their usage patterns when communicating feelings in a variety of situations (when alone, with friends, with family, and in written correspondence). The percentage of inertia for the first dimension (x-axis) is 85.69% and for the second dimension (y-axis) is 13.38%, meaning that a total of 99.07% of the variation in the data is represented on this correspondence map, and hence the associations illustrated are very stable. The first dimension again contrasts use

of languages versus non-use of languages for the given situations, while the second dimension contrasts English versus all other languages as well as written correspondence (letters) versus other situations. Language use with friends cannot be interpreted here, as it lies too close to 0.0 on the first dimension. Overall there seems to be a clear preference for using the L1 and L2 to communicate feelings in any situation, with the exception of English L3, which is also relatively closely associated with being used to communicate feelings in the given situations. Language use with family and when alone both follow the same patterns, as can be seen by their close proximity on the plot, while language use for written correspondence follows a different pattern of use (English is generally preferred here, regardless of its not always being the L1), as can be seen by its distance from these other two situations on the plot.

Figure 8: Language Use Patterns for Feelings

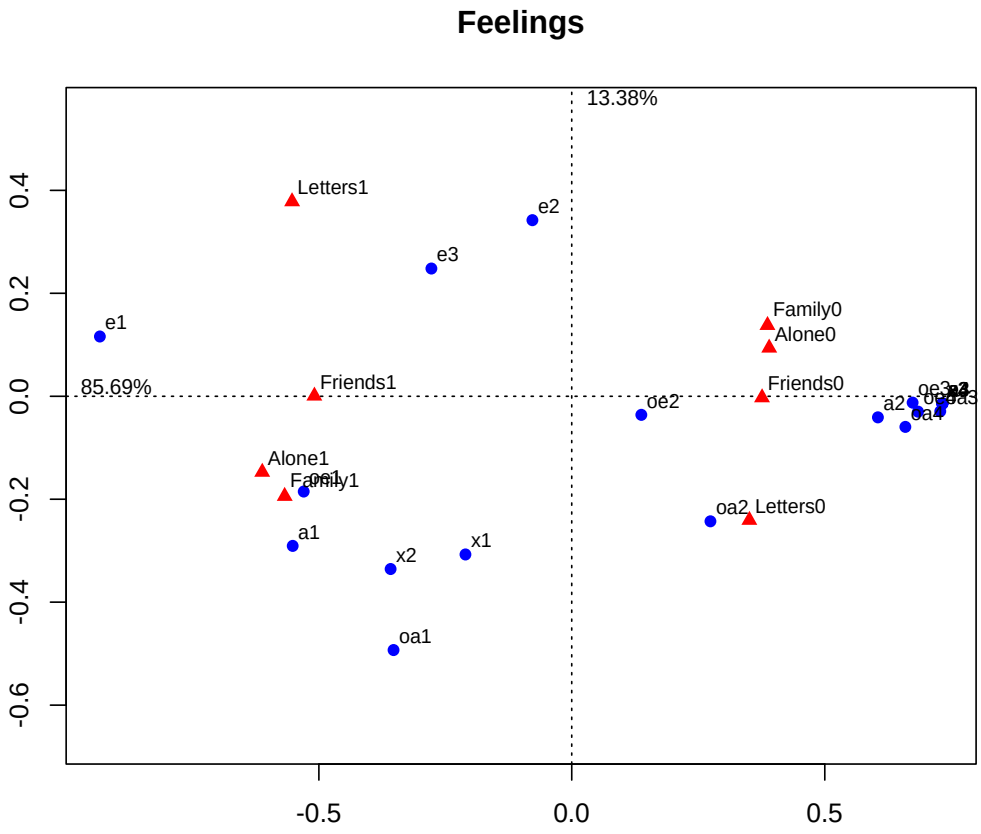


Figure 9 shows the associations between language groups and their use for expressing anger in various situations, this time also with the added situation of communicating with strangers, which was not included in the situations for communicating feelings. The percentage of inertia for the first dimension (x-axis) is 74.59% and for the second dimension (y-axis) is 23.24%, giving a total of 97.83%, which represents very strong associations between points. Once again, the first dimension shows the contrast between the use of specific languages for expressing anger versus non-use of languages for expressing anger. The second dimension shows the contrast between English and all other language groups, as well as between the L1 and other later acquired languages, and also illustrates the fact that language use patterns for communicating with strangers or via written correspondence were similar to each other and in contrast to patterns observed when communicating with family or when alone. This illustrates the fact that, overall, the L1 is preferred for communicating anger in all situations, but especially when talking to family or when alone. English is the most preferred language for communicating anger to friends, to strangers and in written communication, even when it is an L2 or L3. Again, as was seen above in *Figure 8,* the patterns of use for communicating with friends cannot be interpreted, as this point lies too close to 0.0 on the plot. In sum, the observed patterns of language use for feelings (*Figure 8*) and for anger (*Figure 9)* are largely the same, with the only real difference being that communicating with strangers was not an option given in the question on feelings and as such is not represented on that plot.

Figure 9: Language Use Patterns for Anger

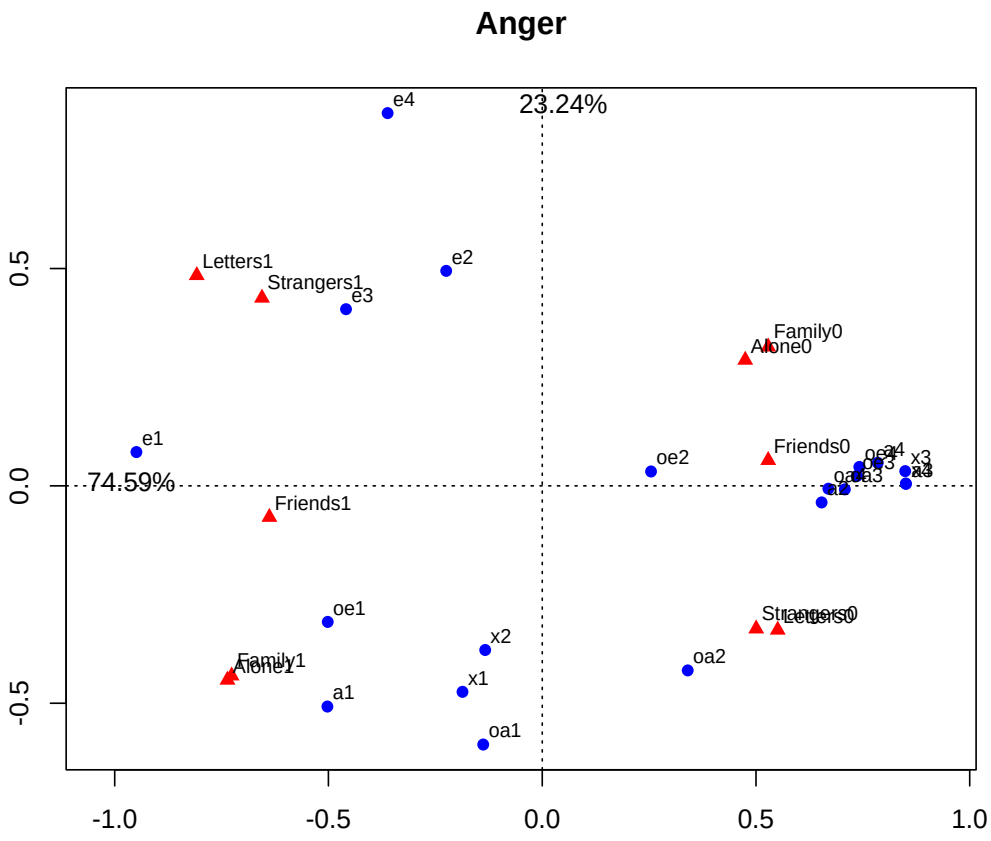


Figure 10 illustrates the associations between language groups and their patterns of use for various mental use situations, including mental calculations, inner speech, recounting memories, and perceptions of identity when using each language. The percentage of inertia for the first dimension (x-axis) is 90.97% and for the second dimension (y-axis) is 5.94%, giving a total representation of 96.91%. The first dimension once again shows language use for the various activities in contrast to non-use of languages for the given activities, and also shows that the L1 is generally associated with use in all of the activities (mental calculations, memories and inner speech), while the L2, L3 and L4 are not strongly associated with use in these cases. However, once again, English seems to be used here even when it is an L2 or L3. It is also interesting to note that L1 Xhosa lies at a great distance from Mental Mathematics, hence suggesting that L1 Xhosa speakers do not use their L1 for mental calculations. Identity cannot really be interpreted, as it lies too close to 0.0 on the plot. It is also observed that patterns of use for memories and for inner speech are very

closely associated with each other, and are in contrast to patterns of use for mental calculations, as can be seen by their relative proximity to each other and relative distance from mental calculations. The second dimension has a very low percentage of inertia, and thus makes only a small contribution to the associations illustrated here.

Figure 10: Language Use Patterns for Mental Use

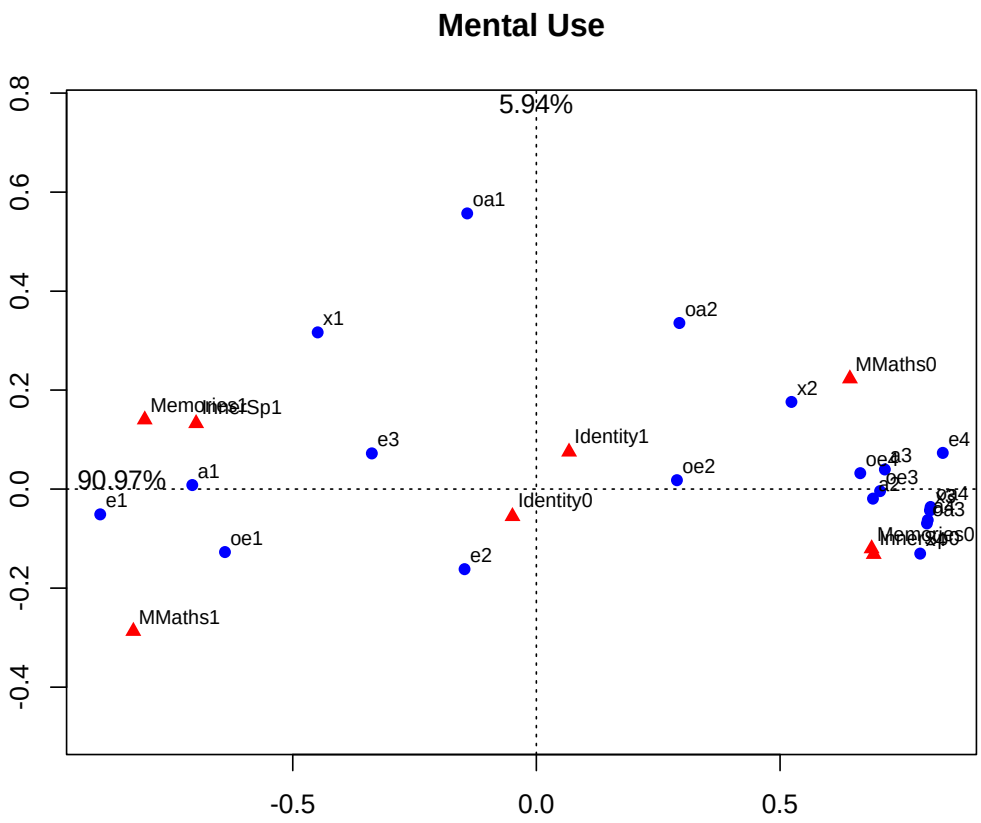
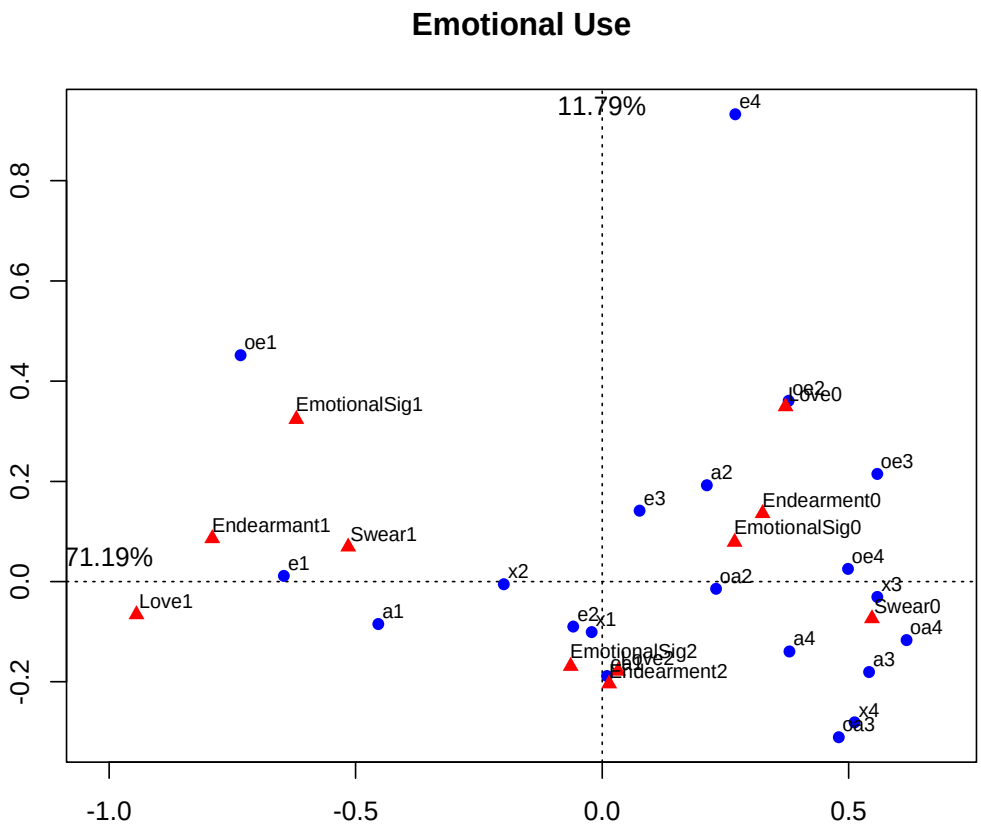


Figure 11 illustrates the patterns of language group usage for communicating emotion in terms of language choices for swearing, saying "I love you", terms of endearment, and the perception of emotional significance for each language group. The percentage of inertia for the first dimension (x-axis) is 71.19% and for the second dimension (y-axis) is 11.79%. This gives a total of 82.98% of the variation in the data being represented and thus results in stable associations being drawn. The first dimension shows the contrast between language use and non-use for all of the given activities, also showing that once again the L1 was

generally the preferred language, with the exception of L1 Xhosa, which was not strongly associated with any of the emotional language use activities. The way these questions were worded in the questionnaire meant that there were three options that the participants could have selected for each activity: thus a 0 indicates that the perceived emotional significance or emotional weight was not strong at all, a 2 indicates that emotional significance or weight for all languages was equal, and a 1 indicates that a specific language had a very strong weight, or a stronger emotional significance than other languages. The cases where emotional significance or weight was regarded as equal across all languages are not interpretable on this plot as they all lie extremely close to 0.0 on the plot, though the proximity of L1 Xhosa and Other African language L1 speakers to these points seem to indicate that Xhosa L1 and Other African language L1 speakers gave the same emotional weight to all the languages that they spoke. The second dimension of this plot shows the contrast between L4 English and all other languages, but given its relatively low percentage of inertia this is not a very significant association and thus adds no real meaning to the observations found here.

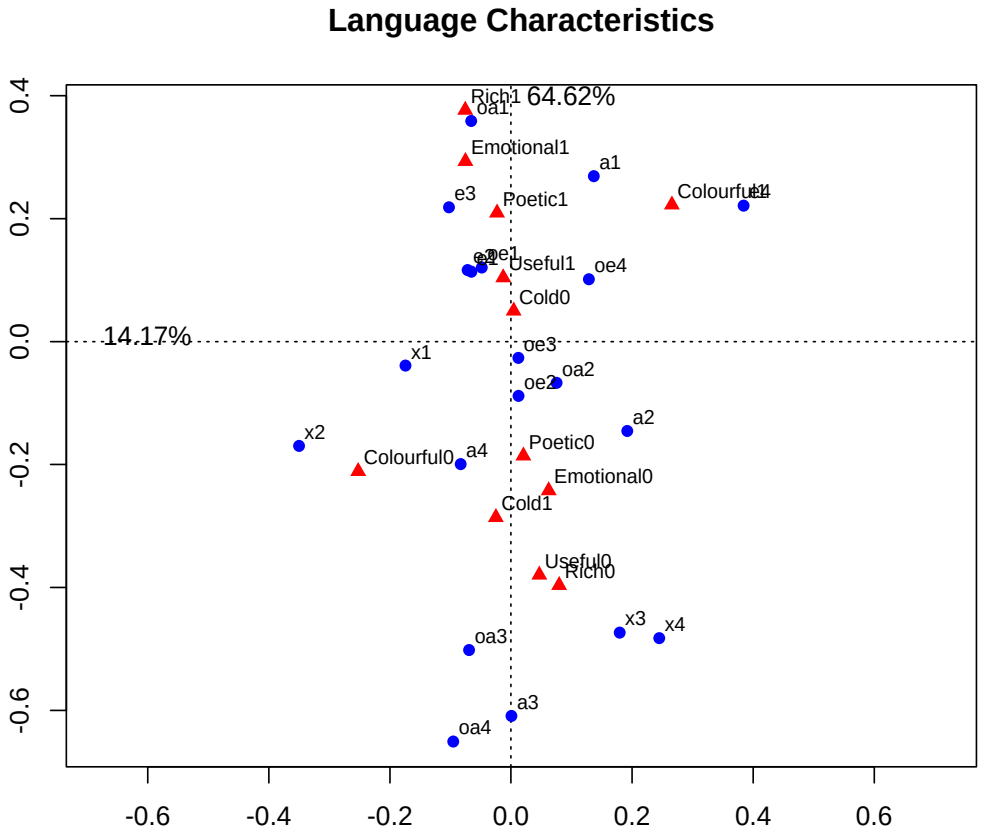
Figure 11: Language Use Patterns for Emotional Use



5.2.3. Language Perception

Figure 12 illustrates the perceived characteristics attributed to each of the language groups (see questions 34-38 of the Questionnaire in Appendix A for details). The percentage of inertia for the first dimension (y-axis) is 64.62% and for the second dimension (x-axis) is 14.17%, making for a total inertia of 78.79%. Note that here, once again, the orientation of the dimensions has been changed such that the x-axis represents the second dimension and the y-axis represents the first dimension. The first dimension illustrates the presence of language characteristics in contrast to the absence of these characteristics, with the exception of "cold" which is the only negative characteristic and which deviates from the uniform patterns seen among all other characteristics. In general, all L1 languages were closely associated with the more positive language characteristics (rich, emotional, colourful etc.), and English was always associated strongly with these positive characteristics, regardless of whether it was the L1 or a later acquired language. The only language that did not have strong associations with the positive language characteristics was Xhosa; this can be seen by its position in the lower half of the plot in relatively close proximity to the absence of certain characteristics (i.e. Colourful0, Useful0 etc.). The second dimension here does not contribute much, as the majority of the points lie close to 0.0 in this dimension, hence the significant associations can only be made within the first dimension.

Figure 12: Perceptions of Language Characteristics



As can be seen from the presentation of results in this chapter, the analysis is made up of two different methods: firstly a number of descriptive correlations were used to illustrate the variation in the data (presented in section 5.1), and secondly the patterns of variation picked up in the descriptive associations were illustrated through the use of correspondence analysis (presented in section 5.2). This combination of two different statistical methods allowed for a more detailed illustration and exploration of the emergent patterns in the data. The statistical investigations presented in this chapter were based on findings from previous research detailing factors that affect language use and choice among multilinguals. The findings of the present study represent a mix of results that support previous research as well as results that differ somewhat from previous research in the field; this will be discussed and interpreted further in the remaining two chapters.

Chapter 6
Discussion of Findings

In this chapter the results and findings from the statistical analysis will be further interpreted and discussed. Comparisons will also be drawn between these findings and those of some of the researchers mentioned in the preceding chapters. The discussion is divided into three sub-sections: section 6.1 provides a discussion and characterization of the context in which the study took place and how it relates to and differs from the contexts of previous studies in this field. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 then deal specifically with the two central hypotheses of the study.

6.1. The Western Cape: A Highly Multilingual Context

In the various studies conducted by Dewaele and Pavlenko using their original version of the Bilingualism and Emotion Questionnaire, the sample sizes were much larger than in the present study. For example, in Dewaele (2004b) there were a total of 1039 participants speaking a total of 75 different L1s. In Dewaele (2011) there were a total of 386 participants speaking a total of 42 L1s. In Pavlenko (2004) there were a total of 141 participants and 47 languages, 25 of which were spoken as L1s. These numbers show that the sample groups for these studies comprised a fairly multilingual population group, including a wide variety of languages.

However, in the present study, with a sample size of only 170 participants, there are a total of 49 different languages spoken (including 22 L1s, 18 L2s, 21 L3s. 20 L4s and 11 L5s). Given the fact that the sample size of the present study is about six times smaller than that in Dewaele (2004b), two times smaller than that in Dewaele (2011) and only slightly bigger than that in Pavlenko (2004), this is a rather impressive variety of languages. In addition, the questionnaire was much more widely distributed for the Dewaele and Pavlenko studies and was also available over a much longer period of time (for a number of years as opposed to only a few months), hence attracting participants from a much

broader catchment area, both in terms of time and geographical space. Taking this into account, along with the large variety of languages represented in the relatively small sample used in the present study, it can be argued that the Western Cape context, as observed in this study, is in fact much more multilingual than the American and European contexts in which the Dewaele and Pavlenko studies were primarily conducted.[7]

This being said, the characteristics of Western (i.e. European and American) multilingual contexts cannot be entirely disregarded, or seen as completely contrary to the context in which the present study takes place, as the variety of languages in the sample include such a vast array of different language families that have their origins in all corners of the world. Thus, one must acknowledge the possibility of the existence of a unique language contact situation in the Western Cape, which allows for the co-existence of such a variety of different languages within a relatively small geographical space.

6.2. Hypothesis 1: Sociolinguistic Factors vs. Socio-Demographic Factors

The first hypothesis of this study was that sociolinguistic factors would have a greater effect on language use choices and patterns than would socio-demographic factors. This was based on the findings of previous research, most notably that of Dewaele (2004a), who concluded that socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, and race play a much smaller role than factors pertaining to an individual's linguistic history, such as proficiency, order and context of acquisition etc. (Dewaele 2004a: 101). The findings of the present study were for the most part similar to those of Dewaele in this regard, thus confirming that socio-demographic factors generally do not play a significant role in language choice and patterns of use among multilingual speakers. This will be demonstrated in the following two sub-sections (6.2.1. and 6.2.2.), in which the discussion is specifically centred around the findings in connection

[7] Some of Dewaele's studies (for example 2010; 2011) did include speakers of Eastern languages such as Japanese, Arabic, Taiwanese and Kurdish; however, there is no mention of any African languages being included in previous studies. It should be noted that the present study includes both Eastern and African languages in addition to the variety of European languages.

with each of the socio-demographic and sociolinguistic factors investigated in the analysis.

6.2.1. Socio-Demographic Factors: age of acquisition, gender, ethnicity, and education

As was seen in the data analysis, age of acquisition did not show any significant variation and hence was not investigated beyond a cursory illustration, in *Table 4*, of the ages at which each of L1 to L5 was acquired. However, what was interesting to note was that the participants in the sample were generally multilingual from a very early age: all of them spoke at least two languages, and those who acquired a third language mostly did so before the age of 18; it was also observed that the L4 and L5 were mainly acquired after the age of 19. Given this uniform trend, it is not surprising that age of acquisition was not found to have a significant effect on patterns of languages use and choice among the participants in this study. This finding hence contributes to confirming Hypothesis 1 of this study, and is in line with the findings of Dewaele (2004a; 2004b; 2010: 2011), who also claims that the age factor does not have a big influence on language use patterns.

Aside from age of acquisition, the other socio-demographic factors elicited from the questionnaire were gender, ethnicity and education level. As with age, gender did not yield any significant results, and as such was not reported in the results chapter. This is again in line with the findings of Dewaele (2004a) who found no significant correlation between gender and language choice – although his study was only focused on language choices for the specific act of swearing, the questionnaire and the methods of analysis are similar enough to those used in this study and it is hence reasonable to expect similar findings in the present study even though the focus here is on more than just this one speech act.

Ethnicity yielded an expected typical illustration of the language-ethnicity link among the Western Cape population, and thus cannot be seen as playing much of a role in determining different patterns of language use further than revealing the fact that each ethnic group tends to speak certain specific languages. This

can be seen purely as a reflection of the legacy of racial segregation during Apartheid (discussed in Chapter 5), which led to each ethnic group being relegated to a specific cultural, linguistic, and geographic space, therefore creating the illusion that ethnicity and language are inextricably linked (see Walker (2005: 41) for commentary on the socio-historical context of ethnicity in South Africa). Ethnicity has not been widely investigated in previous research as a possible factor affecting language use patterns, which implies that it generally does not play a significant role. It would not have been too surprising, however, if it had been shown to play a more significant role in the present study, given the fact that the Western Cape is home to a highly multi-racial as well as multi-lingual population. Nevertheless, the apparent ethnicity-language links illustrated in the data were very uniform (see section 5.1.6), and thus could not be used to differentiate reasons for specific language choices and usage patterns. In order to be able to make more concrete claims as to the effects of ethnicity on language choice in the Western Cape, a much bigger and more racially diverse sample would be needed, but for the purposes of this study, ethnicity can be ruled out as a significant factor for language choice.

In terms of education, there was again not much variation between the different levels of education and the languages spoken by each group. However, it was observed that those participants who held an undergraduate or postgraduate degree tended to be the most multilingual, speaking between three and five languages, while those participants whose highest level of education was high school mainly spoke only two or three languages. As such, education could be seen as playing a minor role in determining different patterns of language usage by virtue of the fact that the undergraduate and postgraduate groups had more languages available to them in their linguistic repertoires than did the other education groups, and were hence more likely to use different languages in different situations. The majority of participants in Dewaele's (2004a) sample were also well educated (mainly holding Bachelor's, Masters, or PhD qualifications). However, he also did not find a very significant correlation between education level and language choices. This is again evidence in support of the hypothesis that socio-demographic factors tend to have less of an effect on language choice than other factors.

6.2.2. Sociolinguistic Factors: context of acquisition, emotional force, proficiency, and frequency of switching

In previous studies (cf. e.g. Dewaele 2004b) factors that are more purely linguistic in nature, and that are linked to the individual's linguistic history, have been found to affect the language use patterns of multilingual speakers more than the socio-demographic factors discussed above. Such factors include the context of acquisition, perceived emotional force of each language, as well as proficiency, and frequency of use.

In terms of context of acquisition, languages learned in more formal instructed environments have been found to have a weaker emotional force for the speaker, and are thus less likely to be used for communicating emotional matters (Dewaele 2004b: 204). Another possible explanation for this finding is that when learning a language in a formal educational setting, one simply does not learn how to express emotions linguistically as the focus is generally on acquiring basic vocabulary and mastering grammatical rules; thus resulting in lexical gaps and pragmatic incompetence with regard to emotion expression in languages other than the L1. In the present study, the trend for context of acquisition was that the L1 and L2 were generally learned in more informal contexts (i.e. at home or a combination of home and school) and the L3 to L5 were generally learned in more formal instructed settings, and only occasionally among peer groups. This would indicate that the L1 and L2 should be the preferred languages for communicating emotional matters and should have the strongest emotional force for the speakers, while the L3 to L5 should have a lesser emotional force and therefore not be used as much in these contexts. The analysis showed that this was indeed the case, as the L1 and L2 were generally preferred for communicating feelings and anger in most contexts, while the L3 to L5 were chosen less frequently. This same pattern was found when participants indicated which language they would choose to swear in or to utter terms of endearment, and is for the most part in line with Dewaele's (2004a; 2011) finding that the preferred language for swearing and for communicating feelings is generally the L1. The difference here is that the present study finds

the L2 also often to be the chosen language for these activities, in fact almost as often as the L1. In addition, the present study reveals some exceptions to this trend which have not been reflected in previous research on the topic: English in general seemed to be preferred regardless of whether it was an L1, L2 or L3 (especially English L3 seemed to be prevalent here), and L1 Xhosa was almost never used for communicating feelings or other emotional matters. These findings are at odds with those of Dewaele (2011:38), for example, as he claims that proficient and frequent users of the L2 do not perceive the L1 and L2 in the same way and also do not use the L2 to the same extent as the L1; however, the findings of the present study suggest that there are cases in which the L2 is used just as much as the L1, or indeed cases where the L2 or L3 is actually preferred over the L1 (particularly in the case of L1 Xhosa speakers). These exceptions will be returned to in more detail later on in this chapter.

In terms of the perceived emotional force of each language, in general the L1 and L2 were found to hold stronger emotional force for the speaker than the L3, L4 or L5. In addition to this, however, there were a large number of cases in which speakers attributed equal emotional weights to all the languages they spoke, thus making it difficult to extract a very significant result in this regard. However, what is interesting to note is that Xhosa was generally not attributed very significant emotional force regardless of whether it was an L1 or an L5. This, again, will be returned to in more detail later in the discussion.

Looking at proficiency and frequency of use, the results show, as can be expected, that the L1 generally had the highest proficiency score, and that these scores decreased for each subsequent language from L2 down to L5. However, English again followed its own trend, as it generally went hand in hand with a higher average proficiency score even when it was not an L1.

Frequency of use was analysed in terms of the frequency with which speakers code-switched from one language to another. The results showed that Xhosa L1 speakers had the highest frequency for code-switching, followed by Afrikaans L1 and then English L1 speakers. Previous research (for example Pavlenko 2006a) has shown that frequency of code-switching to or from a specific language is linked with the context of acquisition and use of that language, thus

indicating that those who learned a language in a more informal context and use it within more multilingual contexts on a daily basis, will be more inclined to switch than those who acquired the language in more formal settings, due to being more comfortable with the cultural and linguistic repertoire of each language (Pavlenko 2006a: 18). The results from the present study, however, do not entirely align with this observation, as it was seen that the L1 and L2 are generally acquired in more informal contexts, yet they were *not* always consistently associated with higher rates of frequency for switching, as can be seen by the fact that L1 Xhosa specifically had a much higher code-switching frequency than did the other L1s and that it was in fact generally the L3s and L4s that tended to be associated with higher frequencies for code-switching.

This discussion of the linguistic factors and their effects on the language choices and usage patterns of multilinguals in the Western Cape, although in some respects yielding slightly different results to those expected based on previous research, do in fact confirm Hypothesis 1 which states that sociolinguistic factors have a greater effect on language choice than do socio-demographic factors.

6.3. Hypothesis 2: Western vs. Non-Western Languages

The second hypothesis of this study was that there may be observable differences in patterns of language choice and use between speakers of Western languages and speakers of Non-Western languages. This was based on the findings of Pavlenko (2004) who proposed that the idea of L1 primacy (i.e. that the L1 is always the preferred language and carries the strongest emotional weight), which is so widely accepted as the truth in the field of multilingualism research, may in fact be a Western ideological construct and that for this reason it may be possible that speakers of Non-Western languages do not entirely conform to the same patterns and rules as do speakers of Western languages (Pavlenko 2004: 192).

The results from this study do in fact yield some interesting points for discussion in this regard, as it was observed that Xhosa tended to follow

different patterns of use to those of most of the other languages in the sample, and that English in general seemed to be pervasive in its use across many different contexts and activities regardless of whether it was an L1, L2, L3, L4 or L5. These observations are discussed in the following three sub-sections, which together form an argument largely in favour of Hypothesis 2.

6.3.1. Pervasiveness of English

As has already been mentioned in the discussion leading up to this point, the results from this study show that, even when it was not the L1, English was often the preferred language for certain emotional speech acts, and was also often considered to be a dominant language and to have a higher proficiency score than other languages. The possible reasons for this finding will be discussed in this section.

In section 5.1.4, it was observed that many participants who have an L1 other than English still regard English as a dominant language. This especially holds true for the participants for whom English was an L3 and Xhosa was the L1. This is in contrast to the findings of Dewaele (2004a; 2004b; 2010: 2011) who did not report any specific language being viewed differently from the rest, and who states that the L1, be it English or any other language in the world, tends to be the dominant language in the vast majority of cases.

In addition to being viewed as dominant even when not an L1, English also correlated with higher average proficiency scores even as an L2 or L3 (see *Figure 6* in section 5.2.1). This is also something that has not been reflected in previous studies, as generally findings have only reported on proficiency levels as they relate to the order in which the languages were acquired and not as they relate to specific languages such as English.

As was mentioned in section 5.1.5, this deviation from the trend of proficiency and dominance decreasing as order of acquisition decreases, could be attributed to the fact that many of the participants whose L1 was Xhosa, or another African language, actually find themselves using English (often their L2 or L3)

on a more regular basis in their day to day lives and thus become more proficient in English than in their L1. This is something that can be observed in the intrinsic characteristics of the Western Cape context in which this study takes place, as the language of business and professional life is most often English, and sometimes Afrikaans, thus resulting in native speakers of Xhosa and other African languages having to communicate in the L2, L3, or even the L4 or L5 in their everyday interactions in the work place (cf. e.g. Banda 2009; Aziakpono & Bekker 2010; and De Klerk 2000). Another cause of this could be the dominance of English as the language of instruction in school settings despite the intentions of the new language in education policy drawn up post-Apartheid, which in theory aims to elevate the status and use of African languages in education (Pluddemann 1999: 327). However, in practice the language in education policy does not quite achieve this, and despite there being eleven official languages in South Africa, "English has retained its position as the main language of education, government and business", while African languages remain largely relegated to use in situations of administrative convenience (Banda 2009: 2). Results of the present study showed a preference for using the L1 or L2 for communicating feelings or anger in various situations, but interestingly there was a general preference for using English when it came to written correspondence regardless of whether or not it was the L1 (this is illustrated in *Figures 8* and *9*). Statistics from the most recently published "Annual Survey of Ordinary Schools" show that English and Afrikaans are the most widely used mediums of instruction in the Western Cape, as in 2011 there were a total of 666 Afrikaans single medium schools in the Western Cape (60.27%), followed by 439 English single medium schools (39.73%) (Department of Basic Education 2012: 17). In terms of dual medium schools in the Western Cape, the 2011 survey showed that there were 367 English/Afrikaans schools (75.05%), followed by 120 English/Xhosa schools (24.54%), and two English/Sotho schools (0,41%) in the Western Cape (Department of Basic Education: 18). These statistics indicate that, in terms of its education policy, the Western Cape does indeed favour English as the medium of instruction, and hence this is a plausible explanation for the findings in the present study as to the pervasiveness of English as the language of choice.

These findings with regards to the pervasiveness of English as the preferred language for communicating feelings and anger, and specifically for use in written communication, are not entirely reflected in previous research. Dewaele (2011) found that the L1 was generally preferred in these situations even when the participants claimed to be equally proficient in both the L1 and the L2 (Dewaele 2011: 25), which is in line with the findings of the present study. However, Dewaele's research did not yield any results in terms of English (or any other language) specifically being the preferred language, which is what is observed here.

Another way in which English was seen to behave differently to the other languages in the sample, was in the perception of the characteristics of each language (illustrated in *Figure 12*). This information was elicited in the last section of the questionnaire where participants were asked to indicate for each of their languages whether they viewed it as 'useful', 'rich', 'emotional', 'colourful', 'poetic', or 'cold'. All of these characteristics, with the exception of 'cold', can be viewed as positive, and it was thus observed that the L1 was generally associated with positive characteristics. The exceptions here were Xhosa and English, as Xhosa was generally not associated with positive characteristics, while English was always associated with positive characteristics even when it was not the L1. This is an interesting result, as previous research on bilingual life narratives in other contexts has shown that English has a tendency to be characterized as 'cold'. For example, in Pavlenko (2006a) the Polish-born writer, Jerzy Kosinski, is quoted as saying "English helped me sever myself from my childhood", and Belgium-born writer, Luc Sante, also hints at the distance and detachment that English allows in comparison to the emotional pulls of his L1 (Pavlenko 2006a: 20-1). In another study on bilingual life-narratives, Pavlenko (2005) discusses how Polish-born author, Eva Hoffman, whose personal life trajectory took her from Poland, to Canada, and then to America, views her L2 English as cold: Hoffman "argues that she is 'becoming cold' not because she is speaking a second language, but because the Anglo affective style appropriate for a person of her age, gender and socioeducational background is less effusive and temperamental" than what she had developed in her native Polish (Pavlenko 2005: 231). Given all this

evidence for English being perceived as a cold language, it is interesting that the results from the present study show English to be so conclusively and consistently viewed as having positive characteristics. A possible explanation for this is perhaps the fact that English is so widely used in everyday contexts, such as school and workplace environments. This regular use of English and a variety of other languages in the same social and geographical environment closes the gap between these other L1s and English, allowing both languages to be evaluated within the same contexts, and resulting in a more favourable view of English, as this is the lingua franca of the workplace and school environment and is therefore often more useful in daily interactions than any other language. Taking this idea further, previous research into language attitudes in South Africa has shown that there is a certain positive ideological value attributed to English, not only by L1 English speakers, but also by speakers of African languages (cf. e.g. Heugh 2009; Pluddemann 1999; De Klerk 2000; and Aziakpono & Bekker 2010). This is illustrated by the fact that even where mother-tongue or dual-medium education is offered, a large number of speakers for whom English is not the L1 tend to prefer English as the medium of instruction (Pluddemann 1999: 103). Such observations can be attributed to the ways in which the language in education policy has been implemented post-Apartheid: the intention was to elevate the nine official African languages to "equal status with Afrikaans and English", however, the reality of the matter is that English has "been elevated to a status significantly more equal than the others" while Afrikaans has lost some currency and the African languages have not enjoyed the intended elevation to higher status (Heugh 2009: 99). Perhaps as a result of the status of each language within the language in education policy, speaker attitudes both in the present study and in previous studies, reflect the view that English is a tool of advancement and upward social mobility as well as being the language of science, technology and business (De Klerk 2000: 202). Speakers also hold the view that proficiency in English is required for success in the workplace and that a lack of proficiency in English could translate to exclusion from the job market (Aziakpono & Bekker 2010). A revealing statement by one of the participants in De Klerk's (2010:210) study, is that "Xhosa cuts you off" – this view can be seen as corresponding to the views of the participants in the present study who tended to associate

English with more positive characteristics and Xhosa with more negative ones. However, this being said, in order to make more concrete claims as to the reasons for English specifically being viewed as positive in the Western Cape, further investigation would be necessary, focussing more on speakers' self-reported perceptions and views of English and allowing them opportunity to further explicate and justify their answers as opposed to eliciting the information in multiple choice questionnaire format.

6.3.2. Xhosa

In addition to the pervasiveness of English as the language of choice regardless of its position in the order of acquisition, it is interesting to note that, for the most part, Xhosa also tended to follow a different pattern of use than that followed by the other languages in the sample; that is to say, Xhosa can effectively be seen as acting in opposition to English, as it was generally *not* the language of choice for emotional communication or for activities such as mental calculations.

Results showed that L1 Xhosa was associated with higher frequencies of code-switching, whereas other L1s were not so closely associated with frequent code-switching; a finding which could again be attributed to the fact that English, and not Xhosa, is the lingua franca in the workplace and in school environments, hence causing L1 Xhosa speakers to switch away[8] from their L1 more frequently. Another possible explanation could be that Xhosa speakers are generally more multilingual than English speakers in the Western Cape and see language as more fluid by virtue of having to use their L2 or L3 more often in everyday contexts, leading to code-switching being viewed as nothing more than a normal everyday occurrence. This issue is also reflected in the education system where "a linguistic compromise has been reached where teachers and students have developed code-switching and code-mixing strategies for pragmatic reasons in spoken classroom discourse", which means that L1

[8] It should also be noted that this might not entirely be a situation of code-switching into a language other than the L1, but rather a case of borrowing from the L2 or L3 in order to fill the lexical gaps inherent in the L1 Xhosa. This interpretation would be more in line with the human-centred multi-competence view of multilingualism discussed in earlier chapters of this study.

speakers of African languages are using a mixture of their mother-tongue and English in everyday contexts (Heugh 2009: 97).

It was also generally observed that the L1 and L2 tended to be the preferred languages for communicating feelings and for other instances of emotional language use, as has already been mentioned. However, Xhosa is seen to deviate from this trend, given that even as an L1 Xhosa was not strongly associated with any emotional language use activities (see results in section 5.2.2.). Another instance in which it was generally seen to be the L1 or sometimes the L2 that was the chosen language, is for mental calculations and inner speech. Previous research has indicated that the L1 is generally preferred for mental calculations and inner speech (cf. e.g. Dewaele 2010), which is in line with the findings of the present study, but with the exception of Xhosa, which again deviates from this trend. This result could be attributed to the prevalence of English as the medium of instruction in most Western Cape schools, as discussed above, or it could be attributed to the intrinsic characteristics of the Xhosa language. That is to say, the number system in Xhosa is often regarded as being too complex for use in everyday communications, and as such Xhosa speakers may opt to use the English number system instead. This claim is based purely on anecdotal evidence, and thus cannot be taken as irrefutable fact, yet it does seem to be a rather common opinion and could hence quite plausibly explain the avoidance of using Xhosa for mental calculations as observed in the present study. Further investigation into the workings of the Xhosa numerical system would shed light on the extent to which this anecdotal evidence actually holds true; however, such investigation is beyond the scope of this study.

6.3.3. Afrikaans

Given that Afrikaans is another of the most commonly spoken languages in the Western Cape, and indeed in the sample of participants used in this study, it is necessary to discuss its patterns of use as they relate to those of English and Xhosa already discussed above.

Afrikaans poses a bit of a problem when one tries to classify it as Western or Non-Western ('Non-Western' here meaning 'African'), as it is not a traditional African language in the sense that Xhosa, Zulu, and Sotho etc. are, yet it is also not entirely an Indo-European language like English. Thus, Afrikaans can be considered as a sort of 'in-between language' that does not fit entirely into one or the other category. Looking at the statistical analysis and results of the present study, it is evident that Afrikaans tends to follow patterns of use more closely aligned with English than with Xhosa, and as such it can be concluded that, at least in the Western Cape context, Afrikaans behaves more like a Western (Indo-European) language than a Non-Western (African) language. In fact, the only instance in which Afrikaans really deviated from the norm was in terms of frequency of code-switching, as it was found that L1 Afrikaans speakers tended to switch to another language rather frequently; a finding that echoes the patterns of code-switching frequency for L1 Xhosa speakers, and which can again be seen as a consequence of code-switching practices in education and workplace settings where English tends to dominate.

The discussions of English, Xhosa and Afrikaans all point towards a confirmation of Hypothesis 2, which states that there may be differences between the language use patterns of speakers of Western languages versus speakers of Non-Western languages. Of course, one cannot make a categorical claim to this effect, since out of the many African languages in the sample it was only really Xhosa that revealed different patterns of use; and English also behaved differently to the many other European languages in the sample. However, Xhosa was the most widely used of the African languages in the sample, and can thus be taken as largely representative of the Non-Western language group in this context. These differences thus indicate that the L1 primacy idea that is so widely accepted in multilingualism research may in fact *not* hold true across all contexts, and suggest that Pavlenko (2004) does make a credible argument in this regard. In sum, Hypothesis 2 is not entirely confirmed in terms of differences between Western and Non-Western languages specifically, yet there is a definite argument to be made against the prevalence of the L1 primacy ideology and the assumption in the field of multilingualism research that this holds true for all languages.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

This study has investigated the factors affecting patterns of language choice and usage in multilingual contexts in the Western Cape with a focus on emotional speech acts. Both of the hypotheses proposed were confirmed in the statistical analysis. As regards the first hypothesis, it was found that sociolinguistic factors such as context of acquisition, emotional force, proficiency, and frequency of use have a more significant effect on language choice than do socio-demographic factors such as age of acquisition, gender, ethnicity and education. As regards the second hypothesis, it was found that the L1 primacy ideology does not hold true across all languages, as marked differences are observed between patterns of use for English and for Xhosa in the present study.

The findings of this study are indicative of the fact that the Western Cape context consists of a much wider variety of languages in contact with each other than is to be found in the European and American contexts in which previous research on this topic has been conducted. It is also evident that in order to fully explain this unique language contact situation, which includes an impressive number of languages spoken in a rather small geographical space, further research would be necessary.

It should be acknowledged that the study is somewhat limited by the relatively small sample size used, as well as the nature of the data collection instrument, in that the data obtained from the questionnaire, while effective in highlighting patterns of language use, does not lend itself to any concrete interpretations regarding speakers' attitudes and thoughts on their language choices. However, given that the study is exploratory in nature, aiming primarily to *identify* factors affecting patterns of language choice and use and then to consider possible justifications for them, these limitations are not detrimental to its outcome. Hence, the study can be seen as providing useful insight into multilingual

language practices in the Western Cape, while also pointing towards issues for future research in the field of multilingualism. In terms of future research based on the findings of this study, one line of inquiry that could be taken is to investigate further the language policy of the Western Cape education system in order to determine the extent to which the medium of instruction can be seen as a viable explanation for speakers choosing a language other than their L1 in situations that in previous research have tended to reveal an almost exclusive preference for the L1. Another related line of inquiry, which could lead towards a better understanding of why Xhosa tends not to be used specifically for mental calculations or for communicating emotional matters, would be to embark on an investigation of the Xhosa language systems in terms of its lexicon and specifically its numerical system, as this could shed light on whether it is the actual language system that affects its use or disuse in these situations or whether it is indeed, as I suggest, attributable to the English bias in the implementation of the language and education policy.

Overall, the results in Chapter 5, as well as the discussion thereof in Chapter 6, show a marked difference in preference between English and Xhosa for the speech acts covered in the questionnaire. This is something that I suggest can be explained by the current language in education policy, which gives English clear pride of place (see Heugh 2009) and suffers from a monolingual bias in its implementation (Heugh 2013: 218). The patterns of language use, as well as the perceived values and characteristics attached to languages included in this study point to a disjunction between the education policy *in theory* and the education policy *in practice* (Heugh 2013: 215), thus highlighting the need for transformation in the ways in which multilingualism is incorporated into the education policy, not just on paper, but in its practical applications too.

This study has served to confirm the findings of previous studies in the field of multilingualism and emotion research, but has also contributed a new perspective on the topic by virtue of being the first of its kind to be conducted in the Western Cape context. It has allowed for an extension of previous findings, giving one cause to rethink the widely accepted ideology that gives primacy to the L1 and suggesting that there is perhaps a lot more to discover when looking

at the characteristics of each specific language in its own right as opposed to focusing so much on order of acquisition which up till now has been the general trend in multilingualism research. The findings also point to the fact that the African context might necessitate a theoretical rethink on a number of issues. Firstly, commonly accepted ideas around multilingualism might be challenged (this re-theorisation of multilingualism is currently taking place, see Chapter 3) as well as ideas about the emotional value of language(s). The findings also suggest that more research is needed on the role that language of education plays on perceptions of language use for and in emotional contexts.

The findings of this study also give one cause to reflect on the role that language policies (both official and *de facto* policies) play in determining how specific languages are viewed by their native speakers as well as by other speakers, showing that the idea of a nostalgia for the L1 is not always irrefutably present and is instead closely tied to contextual factors. Considering this within the context of the Western Cape, it becomes apparent that there are some methodological and practical implications with respect to the education system which need to be addressed by language planners and policy-makers if South Africa is to reach its full multilingual and multicultural potential: Firstly, it is necessary to address the lack of quality textbook material published in African languages for use in the education system. While there was an initial increase in academic publications in African languages post-Apartheid, it is a reality that "African languages have lagged far behind English and Afrikaans in terms of the number of titles published" in recent years (Pluddemann 1999: 334). I suggest that if this could be remedied, the pattern of avoiding the use of Xhosa (and other African languages) for mental calculations and most written correspondence, as reflected in the results of this study, would fall away to a large extent. Secondly, in terms of the actual language in education policy, what is needed is a rethinking of this policy, turning away from the traditional views of English as holding higher value than African languages in the academic and business sectors and instead acknowledging the power of multilingualism as a device for identity construction and upward social mobility. As Stroud & Kerfoot (2013: 398) put it, "this means that critical attention needs to be given to multilingualism as a transformative epistemology

and methodology of diversity" – in other words, the focus needs to be on adjusting the language policy to accommodate diverse language practices in educational and workplace settings. In sum, the findings of this study serve to reveal a need for language and education policies that acknowledge and embrace the diversity and fluidity of the linguistic repertoires and language practices prevalent in the Western Cape, not just in theory but in practice as well.

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Appendix A: Multilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire

Multilingualism and Emotions (MA Thesis at Stellenbosch University)

Background Information

Please Read CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH:

Please carefully read through the information presented here explaining the details of this research project and the conditions under which you agree to participate.

This study has been approved by the Humanities Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at Stellenbosch University and will be conducted according to accepted and applicable national and international ethical guidelines and principles.

Note that your participation is entirely voluntary and that you are free to withdraw from the study at any point, either by not submitting your answers or by contacting the researcher to retract your responses.
You are required to fill in a name on the questionnaire so that the researcher can keep track and distinguish between participants' responses. However, no names will be mentioned in the write-up of these results, so if you do not wish to give your full name you may use initials or a pseudonym.
The response data will be stored in electronic format only, and a password will be required to access it, thus ensuring confidentiality. However, the data will be shared, at the discretion of the researcher, with the project supervisor and with a statistical consultant for analysis purposes.

*DECLARATION OF CONSENT: By ticking the box below (Q1) you are agreeing to participate in the study under the terms and conditions stated above and acknowledge that you have read and understood the relevant information pertaining to your rights as a participant in this study.
Should you have any further questions or concerns relating to the study, please feel free to contact the researcher (Tanya Little: 17951852@sun.ac.za) or the project supervisor (Dr Marcelyn Oostendorp: moostendorp@sun.ac.za).

This questionnaire includes 39 questions. All are multiple choice although some of them require a sentence or two explaining your answer.
Please take the time to answer all of them.

***1. I hereby agree to participate in this study under the terms and conditions specified above.**

◯ I agree to participate

***2. Name or initials**

3. email address (optional)

***4. Gender**

☐ Male

☐ Female

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Multilingualism and Emotions (MA Thesis at Stellenbosch University)

*** 5. Age**

*** 6. What is the highest level of education you have completed?**

- ☐ Primary School
- ☐ High School
- ☐ University (Undergraduate Degree/ Diploma)
- ☐ University (Postgraduate Degree/Diploma)
- ☐ Professional Qualification

*** 7. What is your ethnicity?**

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Coloured
- ☐ Other (please specify)

*** 8. What is your occupation/profession?**

*** 9. Which high school did/do you attend?**

*** 10. In which city/suburb do you live?**

*** 11. Do you use more than one language on a daily basis?**

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

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Multilingualism and Emotions (MA Thesis at Stellenbosch University)

Linguistic Information

*** 12. Please list all the languages that you know (L1 = first language learned; L5 = last language learned)**

NB: Please keep track of which language you have listed as L1/2/3/4/5 as you will need to refer to these in subsequent questions.

L1
L2
L3
L4
L5

*** 13. For each language you know, please indicate in which environment you learned it:**

	School (or other instructed environment)	Home	Both school and home	Peer Group (i.e. among friends)
L1	○	○	○	○
L2	○	○	○	○
L3	○	○	○	○
L4	○	○	○	○
L5	○	○	○	○

*** 14. At what age did you start learning each of the languages you know?**

	0-6 years	7-12 years	13-18 years	19 years or older
L1	○	○	○	○
L2	○	○	○	○
L3	○	○	○	○
L4	○	○	○	○
L5	○	○	○	○

*** 15. Which do you consider to be your dominant language(s) i.e. the language(s) you are most comfortable speaking in?**

You may select more than one option.

- ☐ L1
- ☐ L2
- ☐ L3
- ☐ L4
- ☐ L5

Multilingualism and Emotions (MA Thesis at Stellenbosch University)

*** 16. On a scale of 1 (least proficient) to 5 (most proficient) how do you rate yourself in speaking, understanding, reading and writing in each of the languages you know?**

	1	2	3	4	5
Speaking L1	○	○	○	○	○
Understanding L1	○	○	○	○	○
Reading/Writing L1	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking L2	○	○	○	○	○
Understanding L2	○	○	○	○	○
Reading/Writing L2	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking L3	○	○	○	○	○
Understanding L3	○	○	○	○	○
Reading/Writing L3	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking L4	○	○	○	○	○
Understanding L4	○	○	○	○	○
Reading/Writing L4	○	○	○	○	○
Speaking L5	○	○	○	○	○
Understanding L5	○	○	○	○	○
Reading/Writing L5	○	○	○	○	○

*** 17. How frequently do you use each of the languages you know?**

	Never	Occasionally	Every month	Every week	Every day	Several hours per day (i.e. all the time)
L1	○	○	○	○	○	○
L2	○	○	○	○	○	○
L3	○	○	○	○	○	○
L4	○	○	○	○	○	○
L5	○	○	○	○	○	○

*** 18. Which language(s) do you typically use for mental calculations/arithmetic? (You may select more than one option)**

- ☐ L1
- ☐ L2
- ☐ L3
- ☐ L4
- ☐ L5

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*** 19. Do you switch between languages within a conversation when speaking to certain people?**

- ○ Never
- ○ Sometimes
- ○ Frequently
- ○ All the Time

*** 20. Do you switch between languages when talking about the following?**

	Never	Sometimes	Frequently	All the time
Neutral matters	○	○	○	○
Personal matters	○	○	○	○
Emotional/Embarrassing matters	○	○	○	○

21. If you have children, which language(s) do you prefer to use with them in the following situations?

	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	I use more than one language in this situation
When scolding them	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
When praising them	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
When having intimate conversations with them	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						

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Languages and Emotions

*** 22. Which language do you typically use to express your anger in the following situations?**

	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	I use more than one language in this situation
When you're alone	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
In letters/emails	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
When t lking t f iends	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
When talking to parents/partners	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
When talking to strangers	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						

*** 23. If you swear, which language do you typically swear in? (You may select more than one option)**

- ☐ L1
- ☐ L2
- ☐ L3
- ☐ L4
- ☐ L5

*** 24. Rate the emotional weight/strength of swear words and taboo words in each of your languages**

	Not Strong	Fairly Strong	Strong	Very Strong
L1	○	○	○	○
L2	○	○	○	○
L3	○	○	○	○
L4	○	○	○	○
L5	○	○	○	○

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*** 25. Which language do you use to express your deepest feelings in the following situations?**

	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	I use more than one language in this situation
When you're alone	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
In letters/emails	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
When t lking t f iends	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						
When talking to parents/partners	○	○	○	○	○	○
If you use more than one language in this situation, please list them here:						

*** 26. How anxious are you when speaking each of the languages you know?**

	Not anxious at all	A little anxious	Very anxious
L1	○	○	○
L2	○	○	○
L3	○	○	○
L4	○	○	○
L5	○	○	○

*** 27. If you talk to yourself (out loud or silently in your head) which language do you typically use?**
(You may select more than one option)

- ☐ L1
- ☐ L2
- ☐ L3
- ☐ L4
- ☐ L5

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*** 28. Does the phrase "I love you" have the same emotional weight for you in all your different languages?**

- Yes
- No

If not, then in which language does it have the strongest emotional weight?

*** 29. Do you prefer using a specific language for terms of endearment?**

- Yes
- No

Which language do you prefer to use and why?

*** 30. Do different languages have different emotional significance for you?**

- Yes
- No

If yes, which language has the strongest emotional significance and why?

*** 31. If you had to speak about some difficult or bad memories, which language would you prefer to use?**

(You may select more than one option)

- L1
- L2
- L3
- L4
- L5

Please justify your answer

*** 32. Do you feel like a different person (or that you have a different identity) depending on which language you are speaking?**

- Yes
- No

Please justify your answer

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*** 33. Is it easier or more difficult to speak about emotional topics in a language other than your dominant language?**

- Easier
- More Difficult

Please justify your answer

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Subjective Statements

The following are some subjective statements about the languages you know. Please select all options that apply to each of your languages. i.e. if you think your L1 is both poetic and emotional, select both of those options

34. My L1 is:

- ☐ Useful
- ☐ Colourful
- ☐ Rich
- ☐ Poetic
- ☐ Emotional
- ☐ Cold

35. My L2 is:

- ☐ Useful
- ☐ Colourful
- ☐ Rich
- ☐ Poetic
- ☐ Emotional
- ☐ Cold

36. My L3 is:

- ☐ Useful
- ☐ Colourful
- ☐ Rich
- ☐ Poetic
- ☐ Emotional
- ☐ Cold

37. My L4 is:

- ☐ Useful
- ☐ Colourful
- ☐ Rich
- ☐ Poetic
- ☐ Emotional
- ☐ Cold

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38. My L5 is:

- [ ] Useful
- [ ] Colourful
- [ ] Rich
- [ ] Poetic
- [ ] Emotional
- [ ] Cold

39. If you have any other comments or suggestions for the researcher please make use of the space provided below:

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THE END!

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.
Please note, once again, that by submitting your answers you are agreeing to let me use them in my thesis; you will however remain anonymous.

Should you have any questions about this questionnaire or anything related to the research, please contact me at 17951852@sun.ac.za

Appendix B: Table 1

Table 1: Languages in the Sample

Count in row 1, col % in row 2 LANGUAGE	L 1	2	3	4	5	Total
Afrikaans	51	50	12	12	1	126
	30.00	29.41	13.33	24.49	5.88	25.40
Arabic	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Catalan	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.88	0.20
Chichewa	0	1	0	0	0	1
	0.00	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Croatian	0	0	1	0	0	1
	0.00	0.00	1.11	0.00	0.00	0.20
Dutch	0	0	1	0	0	1
	0.00	0.00	1.11	0.00	0.00	0.20
English	64	90	13	1	2	170
	37.65	52.94	14.44	2.04	11.76	34.27
Fang	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
French	4	8	10	9	0	31
	2.35	4.71	11.11	18.37	0.00	6.25
German	4	0	15	1	2	22
	2.35	0.00	16.67	2.04	11.76	4.44
Greek	0	1	0	0	0	1
	0.00	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Gujarathi	0	1	1	0	0	2
	0.00	0.59	1.11	0.00	0.00	0.40
Hebrew	0	0	2	0	0	2
	0.00	0.00	2.22	0.00	0.00	0.40

Hindi	0	0	1	0	0	1
	0.00	0.00	1.11	0.00	0.00	0.20
Italian	1	0	0	2	1	4
	0.59	0.00	0.00	4.08	5.88	0.81
Japanese	0	0	1	0	0	1
	0.00	0.00	1.11	0.00	0.00	0.20
Kikongo	0	1	0	0	0	1
	0.00	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Kimbala	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.20
Kurdish	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Latin	0	1	1	0	0	2
	0.00	0.59	1.11	0.00	0.00	0.40
Lingala	1	0	1	2	0	4
	0.59	0.00	1.11	4.08	0.00	0.81
Malay	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Mandarin Chinese	0	1	2	0	0	3
	0.00	0.59	2.22	0.00	0.00	0.60
Ndebele	0	0	2	0	0	2
	0.00	0.00	2.22	0.00	0.00	0.40
Ngemba	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.20
Norwegian	0	1	0	1	0	2
	0.00	0.59	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.40
Norwegian Sign Language	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.20
Pedi	0	0	1	0	0	1
	0.00	0.00	1.11	0.00	0.00	0.20
Persian	0	0	0	1	0	1

	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.20
Polish	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Portuguese	1	0	1	2	0	4
	0.59	0.00	1.11	4.08	0.00	0.81
Russian	0	1	0	0	0	1
	0.00	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Shanghainese	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Shona	8	3	0	0	0	11
	4.71	1.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.22
Sotho	0	0	3	1	1	5
	0.00	0.00	3.33	2.04	5.88	1.01
Spanish	0	1	2	3	3	9
	0.00	0.59	2.22	6.12	17.65	1.81
Swahili	1	1	1	0	0	3
	0.59	0.59	1.11	0.00	0.00	0.60
Swati	1	0	0	0	1	2
	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	5.88	0.40
Swedish	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
Tamil	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.20
Tshangana	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.20
Tsonga	1	2	0	0	0	3
	0.59	1.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.60
Tswana	1	1	0	1	0	3
	0.59	0.59	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.60
Upper Ngemba	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.20

Venda	0 0.00	0 0.00	0 0.00	0 0.00	1 5.88	1 0.20
Xhosa	22 12.94	4 2.35	7 7.78	2 4.08	2 11.76	37 7.46
Yoruba	1 0.59	0 0.00	0 0.00	0 0.00	0 0.00	1 0.20
Zulu	2 1.18	2 1.18	12 13.33	5 10.20	2 11.76	23 4.64
Total	170 100.00	170 100.00	90 100.00	49 100.00	17 100.00	496 100.00

Appendix C: Letter of Approval for the Study from the REC

18-Aug-2014 Little, Tanya T

Approval Notice Stipulated documents/requirements

Proposal #: DESC/Little/July2014/66 Title: Sociolinguistic factors affecting emotional language use in multilingual contexts in the Western Cape

Dear Ms Tanya Little,

Your **Stipulated documents/requirements** received on **11-Aug-2014,** was reviewed Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham REC Coordinator Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)
